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I. Portrait of Agricola, probably second half of the sixteenth century.

RODOLPHUS AGRICOLA PHRISIUS
1444 - 1485

Proceedings of the International Conference
at the University of Groningen
28-30 October 1985

EDITED BY

F. AKKERMAN AND A.J. VANDERJAGT



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PREFACE

The Rodolphus Agricola Conference at Groningen

Rodolphus Agricola died at Heidelberg on October 27, 1485. He was born in Baflo near Groningen in the Netherlands in 1444 (or 1443). Although in his own manuscripts his name is also spelled "Rhodolphus Agricola *Frisus*", traditionally it is given in Latin as *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius*. His intelligence and ingenuity have inspired readers of his work through the centuries. Since Erasmus and Melanchthon, Agricola's decisive influence on the development of Italian humanism north of the Alps has been recognized widely.

Modern scholarship of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries usually regards him highly. Nevertheless, only sporadic systematic attention has been given to his biography and work. Especially important in this regard are the chronological list of his letters and orations compiled by Allen (1906), the biographical study in Dutch by Van der Velden (1911) and the bibliographical and rhetorical analysis of his work by Ong (1958).

The quincentenary of Agricola's death in 1985 appeared to offer an excellent opportunity for stimulating the renewal of Agricolan studies. A commemoration could appropriately have been organized in a number of places: he studied at Erfurt, Louvain, Pavia, Ferrara and, perhaps also, at Cologne; he filled public office in Groningen and stimulated humanism there; at Heidelberg he taught and functioned in the University and at the court of Johann, Bishop von Dalberg. The Groningen homage to Agricola was not prompted solely by patriotic feelings. There is an established interest in Agricola and northern humanism especially in the departments of classics, history and philosophy of the University and in its library. In general, too, Agricola is considered one of the founding fathers of intellectual life in the northern Netherlands and Germany.

In the course of 1982 representatives from the University and the Province of Groningen met to discuss the different aspects of an Agricola commemoration. It was decided to organize an academic conference. The University Library had already started preparations for an exposition in the University Museum devoted to manuscripts and early printed works of and on Agricola. It included many important items generously on loan from several Dutch and other major European libraries. The result was a unique exhibition which brought together for the first time

exceptional material among which the famous Stuttgart codex of Agricola's works. This exposition and its fine catalogue were conceived and organized by the university librarian with his staffmembers Ms. G.C. Huisman, Mr. J. Kingma and Mr. S. Sybrandy.

The Provincial Government generously provided for diverse activities. The participants of the conference were taken on a tour by coach through the Province of Groningen *ad ultimos rerum naturae terminos*. Afternoon tea was offered at Baflo by the local Town Council. Following the excursion, the Queen's Commissioner hosted a lavish reception in the *Provinciehuis*. The Province also commissioned a stageplay about Agricola and underwrote its theatrical production. Authored by Martin Hartkamp, the monologue *Twee Zwarte Zwanen* skilfully brought together Agricola and Erasmus; it was staged by the theatregroup "De Voorziening". The Municipal Council of Groningen sponsored a recital by Elly Kooiman on the organ in St. Martin's Church which was built with the help of Agricola's expertise.

The Conference was attended by about seventy scholars from Austria, Belgium, Canada, England, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, the United States. Twenty-two short papers were grouped around five invited main lectures. All but two were delivered in the University *Academiegebouw*.

Agricola's philosophy and rhetoric were treated from several angles. In her lecture *Dr. Jardine* showed that Agricola is crucially influential for sixteenth-century humanist-inspired educational reform; his restructuring of the liberal arts curriculum left a lasting mark on the humanities. *Professor Braakhuis* discussed Agricola's ideas on the problem of universals as it was analyzed in his *De universalibus*. The distinction between *inventio* and *iudicium* as one of the central points from which early humanist dialecticians criticize scholastic logicians was discussed by *Mr. Losekoot*. He showed that Agricola changed the total outlook of dialectics by adding to it a real invention component. In *Dr. Mack*'s contribution a comparison is made between the topics of Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian and Boethius and Agricola's topical theories in the *De inventione dialectica*. Although Agricola's topics operate on the level of words, their successful use depends on knowledge and experience of the world of things. *Dr. Meerhoff* treated Peter Ramus's reactions to and use of Agricola's dialectics and rhetoric. Conjointly, *Professor Muller* established the position of Agricola in the tradition of later medieval rhetoric and dialectic; he continued by tracing his influence to Ramus. The history of the philosophy of science was the topic which *Mr. Prins* examined. Hobbes's practical view of logic, his opinions on the methodological role of language and his identification of teaching and proving were traced in

part to the influence of Agricola. *Professor Van Dooren* confronted Agricola and Pomponazzi, who both taught philosophy at Ferrara. *Dr. Van der Zwaal* demonstrated the surprising continuity between classical rhetoric and modern methods of psychoanalysis.

Agricola's biography, historical environment and influence naturally elicited a large number of contributions. From the High Pulpit of the church of Baflo, *Dr. Akkerman* lectured on Agricola's understanding of himself as a native of the North and on the rhetoric of his autobiographical remarks. *Professor Sottili* delivered a lecture which added significantly to our biographical knowledge by following Agricola in Italy. He gave special attention to the reasons for his transfer from Pavia to Ferrara. Agricola filled the office of 'secretarius' of the city of Groningen from 1479/80 to 1484; the implications of this civic function were examined by *Mr. Bakker*. Five papers detailed Agricola's impact on his contemporary intellectual environment. *Ms. Kooiman* clarified biographical knowledge of Jacob Barbireau; she also pointed out his precise relationship with Agricola. *Ms. Santing* investigated Theodoricus Ulse-nius's admiration for Agricola and presented her discovery of textual material relating to northern humanism. The work of Cornelius Aurelius, another member of the generation of Dutch humanists who came after Agricola, was scrutinized by *Ms. Tilmans*. At Heidelberg Agricola had been the mentor of Conrad Celtis; *Dr. Adel* discussed Celtis's imitation of his former master. The relationship between Agricola, Hegius and Erasmus was the subject of *Professor Schoeck*'s contribution. In St. Martin's Church, *Mr. Edskes* treated Agricola's part in the rebuilding of the organ; he illustrated his paper with architectural finds. Finally, *Dr. Ekkart* demonstrated the historical background of the two types of portraits of Agricola which are known today.

Rudolph Agricola was a renaissance humanist. Several aspects of his advancement of the *studia humanitatis* were brought forward. In his paper *Dr. Hermans* investigated the books which Agricola possessed; he demonstrated his remarks with slides of illuminated manuscripts from the scriptorium of Selwerd Abbey. *Professor IJsewijn* lectured on Agricola's acquisition of Greek and his knowledge of Greek literature. A careful analysis was given of his translations from Greek and the pieces which he himself wrote in Greek. This work and his handbook on rhetoric were described metaphorically as the two solid columns of Agricola's fame as a humanist. The success of his translation into Latin of the *Axiochus* was treated by *Dr. Tournoy*. Two papers explored Agricola's pursuits in Latin literature. *Professor Römer* assessed his critical work on secondary and heavily interpolated texts of Tacitus and Pliny the Younger. Agricola's sharp eye anticipated many modern corrections; as such his work is a

prime example of fifteenth-century textual criticism. The Latin poetry of Agricola was studied by *Mr. Schoonbeeg*. This poetry, which from a modern viewpoint is rather uninspired, nevertheless is technically excellent and it stimulated contemporaries; Agricola wrote poems because humanists were expected to do so. *Dr. Wesseling* gave an elaborate technical analysis of Agricola as a lexicographer and etymologist; his notes were based on Agricola's letter to Hegius (*Ep. 21*). *Dr. Vanderjagt* briefly discussed the tenor which philosophy had for Agricola; within this theme his views on ancient and medieval philosophers were explained. *Professor Kessler* lectured on the meaning and function of history in Agricola's work. He analyzed three aspects of this subject: Agricola's own historical writings, his theoretical reflection on historical truth, and his understanding of himself as a historical being.

Many themes could have been elaborated; the conference did not treat Rudolph Agricola and his work exhaustively. Much research and analysis still needs to be done. In order to facilitate further investigations into the biography, bibliography, humanism and influence of Agricola the editors of this volume of papers have included in it an extensive bibliography of sources and secondary works.

EDITORS' NOTE

This volume contains twenty-six of twenty-seven papers which were presented at the Conference. The editors respected Mr. Losekoot's decision to withdraw his paper; he is currently working towards a dissertation on the logic of Agricola which will incorporate his earlier findings. The papers printed here form a heterogeneous collection. They derive from many different areas of scholarly endeavour and also present their topics in a variety of styles and languages. The editors saw fit to interfere as little as possible in the texts which they received: no attempt was made to bring into accord all ideas, facts and spellings of proper names as they occur in the individual papers. Nevertheless, all contributions were scrutinized carefully, all quotations or translations from the Latin sources were checked. Footnotes were edited thoroughly: references were harmonized and shortened. For the complete titles of the works cited the reader is referred to the Bibliography. The editors would like to thank the authors for responding promptly to their queries and suggestions.

The papers below follow the arrangement in which they were delivered at the Conference. Dr. Akkerman wrote the first part of the Bibliography which contains sources and a listing of all the works of Agricola which are known; Dr. Vanderjagt compiled the list of secondary literature. The editors hope that Agricolan studies will benefit from this ample listing. They are both responsible for this volume as a whole.

The Agricola commemoration would not have been possible without the guidance of our Committee of Honour and the Organizing Committee. Members of the Committee of Honour were the following: His Excellency H.J.L. Vonhoff, The Queen's Commissioner for the Province of Groningen, Professor E. Bleumink, Rector Magnificus of the University, Mr. A.A.M.F. Staatsen, LLM, Mayor of the City of Groningen, Mr. A.W.J. van Beeck Calkoen, LLM, Mayor of the Town of Baflo, Professor L.W. Nauta, Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Professor H.W. van Os, Dean of the Faculty of Letters. The Organizing Committee was constituted by members of the University: Professor L.J. Engels served as chairman and Dr. F. Akkerman as secretary; further members were Professor H. Hofmann, the university librarian Mr. W.R.H. Koops, LLM, Professor S.L. Radt, Dr. A.J. Vanderjagt and Professor E.H. Waterbolk.

A special word of thanks is in order for the indefatigable energy and charming enthusiasm of three staffmembers of the *Provinciehuis*: Ms. M.S. Keizer-Zwankhuizen, Mr. H.J. Huizing and Mr. H.J. Tromp, LLM.

Mr. H. Boerema put his expert knowledge of medieval architecture in the service of the Conference by accompanying and guiding an excursion through the Province of Groningen.

Financially the Conference was made possible by the gracious subventions of the University Administration, the Faculty of Letters, the Faculty of Philosophy and the *Groninger Universiteitsfonds*.

At an early stage it was decided to publish the Conference proceedings. A small editorial committee was formed by Dr. Akkerman, Mr. Koops, Dr. Vanderjagt and Professor Waterbolk.

The publication of this volume was financially supported by the *Stichting H.S. Kammingafonds* and the *Stichting Groninger Universiteitsfonds*. The organizers of the Agricola commemoration and the editors of these Proceedings are grateful for the interest and support of the academic and provincial institutions, the City of Groningen and the Town of Baflo.

We thank E.J. Brill of Leiden for publishing this book as volume 6 of the series *Brill's Studies in Intellectual History*.

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PART ONE

MAIN LECTURES

F. AKKERMAN

AGRICOLA AND GRONINGEN

A HUMANIST ON HIS ORIGIN

At the beginning of the address 'in praise of philosophy and the other arts', which he delivered at Ferrara in the autumn of 1476, Rudolph Agricola points out the problems attending such a general theme, of which tradition demanded that it should be treated afresh at the inauguration of each new academic session. What he says is:

Solent igitur alii taedium earundem rerum crebro redeuntium levare ingenio atque eloquentia, si minus possint materia placere. Ego autem ad Oceanum et prope ad ultimos rerum naturae terminos natus, quid est quod ab isto Germanico horrore ingenii sperem hac in re vel novum vel his limatissimis auribus dignum posse proferri?¹

Others are therefore wont to alleviate the boredom caused by the frequent repetition of the same things by means of their talent and eloquence, when they are unable to please as far as their topic is concerned. But I, born on the rim of the Ocean, and almost on the outer edge of nature itself, what can I expect from that Germanic harshness of the intellect that might serve to be offered, with reference to the subject in hand, either as new or as fit for these refined ears?

This topic is not without interest, because the humanists liked to view themselves in relation to their native soil, and their native soil in relation to history, literature, and mythology. Like all things historical, this interest is full of paradoxes and contradictions, for the leaning towards the ordinary, the concrete and the real, so frequently characteristic of Renaissance literature, finds a counterweight in the tendency to abstract the *studia humanitatis* from *loci, tempora* and *aetates*, as Cicero phrases it in the *Pro Archia*. Nevertheless, Groningen is tangibly present in the life and works of Agricola, if only in a sparing and stylized manner, just as Mantua, Venusia and Sulmo are shown in no more than a single, unforgettable flash in the lives and works of the famous Latin poets.²

I wish to thank Dr. R. Bremer for the English translation of this paper.

¹ Alardus II, 144-145.

² In the 50 letters by Agricola's hand that have come down to us (maybe 150 pages of printed text) I counted 17 passages filling some 150 lines, which refer directly to Groningen and Agricola's position there.

That Groningen's geographical situation is exceedingly eccentric, you who are attending the present conference have already had brought home to you. In a letter to his friend Adolph Occo Agricola expresses the same in a manner slightly less highly stylized than in his speech, but more than literary enough even so, when he complains that it is so difficult to send a letter abroad:

quod in Phrisia nostra, id est ultimo terrarum angulo, non facile inveniebam cui perferendas litteras committerem.³

because in our Friesland, that is to say in the farthest corner of the world, it was not easy to find someone to whom I could entrust the delivery of a letter.

And speaking of the news of the day in yet another letter, of 6 Febr. 1483 to Dietrich von Pleningen, he laconically observes:

Sed nihil explorati habemus. Sumus hic extra solis coelique vias, ut quum desinant narrari res, tum primum ad nos perferantur.⁴

But we know nothing with certainty. We live so far outside all solar and heavenly orbits that matters are only brought to our attention when people stop talking about them.

But the sublime hyperbole 'prope ad ultimos rerum naturae terminos' expresses more than mere geographical remoteness. Surely a place situated 'almost on the outer edge of nature itself' lies far beyond the outermost frontiers of human civilization. And that is indeed what Agricola literally writes to Occo on 19 October 1480, when he has just returned to Groningen:

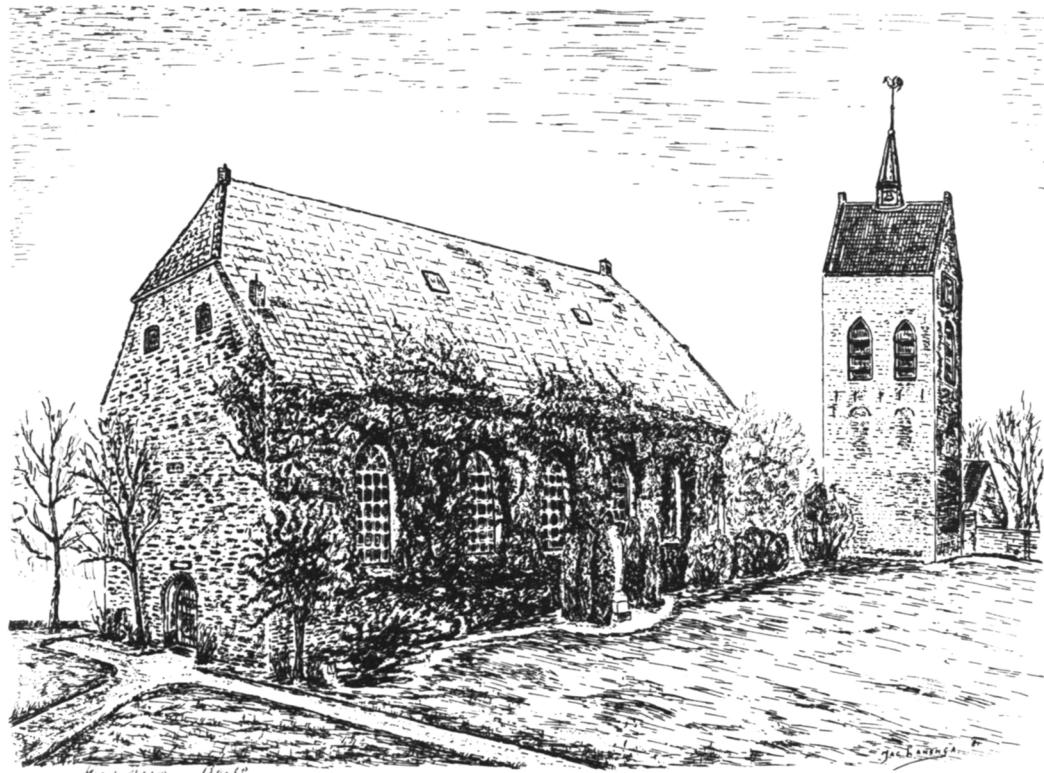
Nam quod de Archimedore traditur, qui naufragio in Rhodiense littus eiectus, quum vidisset in pulvere geometricas descriptas figuras, iussit bene sperare socios: 'hominum enim cerno vestigia,' id mihi prorsus aliter habet, qui meo iudicio 'solus, egenus, inops Lybiae deserta peragro.' Deserta profecto et nulla humanitatis signata vestigiis. Nemo est enim apud nos qui litterarum non dico politiorum nostrarum, sed ne ullanrum quidem voluptate teneatur.⁵

For what is told of Archimedes, that, when, washed up on the coast of Rhodes as a castaway, he saw geometrical figures drawn in the sand, he exhorted his companions to be of good hope: 'for I discern traces of human beings,' is altogether otherwise with me, who, in my own opinion, 'am scouring, lonely, destitute, in need, the Lybian deserts.' Yes, truly, deserts, and unmarked by any trace of human culture, for here with us there is no-one who takes delight in letters – I don't even mean our more civilized letters, but any letters whatever.

³ *Ep.* (53).

⁴ *Ep.* 32.

⁵ *Ep.* 22.



II. Medieval church of Baflo. Drawing by Jac. Lanenga, 1981.

Still other notes are struck by the expression ‘ab isto Germanico horrore’. This plumbs the cultural chasm gaping between his own Northern ‘ingenium’ and the ‘limatissimae aures’ of his Italian audience, a chasm which made a very curious impression on people living in the second half of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth century, and sometimes called forth great tensions in them. The term *horror* alludes to the uncouth latinity of the North, the sentences with neither head nor tail, the arbitrary hotchpotch of words, the jargon of theologians and philosophers imprisoned in their useless mare’s-nests, and to the degeneration of a dog Latin then still occasionally used in monasteries and chanceries. The students from the North visiting Italy saw all this suddenly confronted by the clarity and elegance of letter and oration and poem in Italy, and the best of them learned literally to shiver when they heard the *stridor ... barbariae* of which Agricola speaks in a letter of 3 April 1480 to Frederik Moorman.⁶ And this strident grating was not only heard along the Waddenzee, but also at Erfurt, Cologne, Heidelberg, Louvain and Paris.

Hailing from the simple Groningen country, Agricola learned to move at greatly different social levels. In Italy, in Germany, and in the Netherlands we nearly always see him keeping the most elegant company: dukes, counts, barons and knights people his letters and the *Vitae*; he knew canons of important chapters as well as bishops, a cardinal and a Pope; and he was acquainted with authorities in the fields of science and the arts. Small wonder then that in a letter to Dietrich von Pleningen dating from 20 January 1476 – when he had only recently arrived in Ferrara – he should declare that he counts himself among the members of the very lowest social class: ‘... hominibus infimae classis inter quos me numero ...’⁷

And when, finally, having been appointed town clerk at Groningen, he describes his social function there in the letter of 19 October 1480 to Occo, he asserts:

... video ex otio liberalissimo in sordidum me negotium et a studiis
ingenioque meo abhorrens incidisse.⁸

I see how I have lapsed from a noble freedom into degrading labour
incompatible with my studies and my gifts.

The conclusion that may be drawn from all this is clear: in his own eyes, or rather, in his own words, he has come from and returned to the lowest

⁶ *Ep.* 20.

⁷ *Ep.* 8.

⁸ *Ep.* 22.

depths and the farthest remotenesses of Europe, socially, culturally and geographically. It was elsewhere that he had risen to the highest peaks. Sometimes this picture is confirmed by the later *Vita*-writers in terms in which the humming of the rhetorical mechanism can be discerned even more clearly: the Von Pleningen brothers, to whom he made the confession about his birth quoted above, tell us that he was born

parentibus ac maioribus modicis, ut sua virtute atque industria aliquando redderetur insignior.⁹

from humble parents and forebears, in order that he should one day acquire more renown by his own merit and diligence.

Now it is not my intention to contradict this picture and replace it by a totally different one. Humanist literature should be taken seriously as the expression of real-life mental states in a language of forms then widely accepted. The creating of a different picture, from different historical data, has as its sole aim a better understanding of both that literature and the historical context.

Rudolph Agricola might have started his address at Ferrara in quite a different way, for instance as follows – I’m sure you will forgive me this brief *prosopopoeia*:

‘Illustrissime Princeps, magnifice rector, vosque praestantissimi viri, the land I hail from lies on the banks of the Northern Ocean, yet it is by no means devoid of human culture. The mere fact that at Baflo my cradle stood on firm, dry soil and was not swept away by the tidal currents of the Waddenzea may be considered a triumph of human civilization. The miserable manner in which my ancestors lived there in antiquity has been painted by Pliny in glaring colours. The people dwelt on *tumuli*, surrounded by mudflats flooded by the sea every time the tide rose a little higher than usual. These artificial dwelling mounds are called ‘wierden’ in my native tongue, and one encounters the word in dozens of names of villages, especially in suffixes, all the way to the higher sandy grounds in the South of the province, where we now find the town of Groningen: Selwerd, Dorkwerd, Aduard, and so on and so forth. In those days the people did not dwell ‘ad Oceanum’, but ‘in Oceano’. Pliny called my fatherland an ‘aeterna rerum naturae controversia’, that is to say a region where sea and land do not possess clearly delimited *termini*¹⁰ but eternally contend with each other over every foot of ground. This situation did not

⁹ Pfeifer, ‘Rudolph Agricola’, 101; cf. *Auctor ad Herennium*, III, VII, 13; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, III, 7, 10.

¹⁰ Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XVI, 2-3; strictly speaking Pliny is describing here the land of the Chauci, who live along the North Sea between the Ems and the Elbe.

change until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in the course of which dikes were thrown up which made living on artificial raised mounds no longer necessary.¹¹ And since then the dikes have been pushed further out into the sea from generation to generation, the draining of the reclaimed polder-land has been improved, watercourses and creeks and gullies inside and outside the dikes are being studied and registered. And with us, this battling of the treacherousness and violence of the water is not done by a powerful and rich overlord, for the Frisian lands, nominally part of the German Empire, have no lord. Even the bishop of Utrecht, who holds sway over the town of Groningen, and the bishop of Münster, who counts the Ommelanden, the country around Groningen, as part of his diocese, even they live so far away that for an effective administration of our region they are entirely dependent on people possessing sufficient local influence.¹²

This is the end of my fictitious quotation – as it would also have been the end of Agricola's career, had he really said such things. By priding himself on his own country and origins Agricola would not have achieved a *captatio benevolentiae* at Ferrara. Together with his audience he had to play the game of carrying himself mentally back to the Roman Empire and looking from its centre to the farthest borders where he came from. He might also have spoken about the monastic culture in the Frisian lands, or the splendid medieval churches, still standing today, two or three of which we will show you this afternoon, but of which there are literally dozens still left in our Northern provinces. He could have told how, in a long process of time, with cunning and doggedness the town of Groningen had gained the ascendancy in the Ommelanden, which in fact take their name ('terrae circumiacentes') from the town. And he might have mentioned how the town's political aspirations began to expand even into Western Friesland. He might have extolled its pomp and circumstances, its walls and churches and its tall tower, which was given its present-day shape in Agricola's days.¹³ But it does not so much as cross his mind to mention these things.

Intellectually too, the Frisian lands in Agricola's days were by no means a backward region. In the Netherlands it was precisely in the northeastern parts and in Westphalia that Italian humanism found its first reception in the years round 1470. It was not until a full generation later that Holland took over the lead. The Neo-Latin letters in which

¹¹ On the building of the dikes in Groningen see Kooper, *Het waterstaatsverleden van de provincie Groningen*; Siemens, *Dijkrechten en zijlvesten*.

¹² On the history of Groningen see Formsma etc., *Historie van Groningen*.

¹³ The first phase of the building of St. Martin's tower was completed in 1482; a previous tower had collapsed in 1468.

Rudolph von Langen from Münster, Antonius Liber from Soest, Rudolph Agricola from Groningen passed the watchwords of early Northern humanism on to each other, are the first eloquent tokens of this early blossoming of new cultural forms up in the North. The printing of a collection of these letters, together with others from Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the fifteenth century by Vrije (= Liber) c. 1475,¹⁴ of Latin poetry by Von Langen in 1486,¹⁵ are brand-new initiatives in the German-speaking world. As regards contents and style, the letter Agricola wrote, probably in the autumn of 1472, to his fellow-townsman Johannes Vredewolt – just to take an early example at random – is of a quality nobody else north of the Alps could attain to in the fifteenth century. Frederik Moorman too must have belonged to the circle, even though Goswinus van Halen does not mention him in his list of Northern intellectuals.¹⁷ Later in the seventies, on his return journey to Groningen, Agricola met Alexander Hegius in Emmerich, probably in the autumn or winter of 1479-1480,¹⁸ and kindled in him the sparks of the new learning. These men were very conscious of their uniqueness and modernism. They did not form a closed cell, however: they kept close ties with intellectuals of a more traditional stamp, like Wessel Gansfort or Hendrik van Rees, the abbot of Aduard from 1449 to 1485.¹⁹ It was here, in the Cistercian abbey, that from time to time the meetings and discussions took place that much later, in a letter to Albert Hardenberg of 23 November 1528, caused Goswinus van Halen to make the statement: 'In those days, Aduard was an academy rather than a monastery.'²⁰ He refers to his own youth in the eighties and nineties of the fifteenth century, but apparently Aduard functioned as a centre of studies for a far longer period than Goswinus' memory stretched. Von Langen wrote his letters there as early as 1469 and Albert Hardenberg studied in Aduard in 1528 and after. Allen's splendid chapter²¹ notwithstanding, what has been

¹⁴ *Familiarium Epistolarum Compendium*, ed. Antonius Liber (= Vrije).

¹⁵ *Rhodolphi Langii Ca. Monasteriensis Carmina*, Münster, Johan Limburg 1486; a modern edition in Parmet, *Rudolf von Langen*.

¹⁶ Allen entered this letter in his list as nr. 2 and dated it: Winter [1469?], Pavia. Now that Prof. Sottili (see his paper in this volume) has found the date of Vredewolt's promotion (26 January 1473), the letter should be dated probably to the summer or autumn of 1472. By this time Agricola had more right for saying that he had been 'tot annos' in Italy.

¹⁷ Catrien Santing recently found some poems by him and by Liber in a Munich manuscript; the reader is referred to her contribution elsewhere in this volume.

¹⁸ The traditional dating of this meeting early in the seventies is impossible. See Worstbroek, 'Hegius'.

¹⁹ Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 125-136.

²⁰ *M. Wesseli Gansfortii Groningensis ... Opera* **4 ff.

²¹ Allen, *The Age of Erasmus*, Ch. I 'The Adwert Academy'.

written on this subject is still unsatisfactory. Not even Goswinus' letter, or rather, one complete letter and fragments of two more, has ever been fully translated or analysed.^{21a} In these few pages Goswinus mentions not less than 23 people, including himself, who were seen there some time or other, and an 'et alii' hides others as well. The heterogeneous composition of the group (a country squire, townspeople from Groningen, teachers from Deventer, scholars of local making as well as from elsewhere, married men and priests, some inmates of the monastery itself too, out-and-out humanists as well as more traditional theologians) is precisely what gave it its charm. A firmly-knit group they probably formed in Goswinus' letter only; it is certainly not a 'circle', there is no question of an intellectual school or programme, there is no record of 'Disputationes Adwerdenses'. Among the names we find personalities of great stature: Agricola, Gansfort, Frederici, Hegius, Von Langen. There is no reason whatsoever to be derogatory about this Aduard culture. Groningen's golden age glitters in Aduard's intellectual grandeur no less than in its own political power or its tall tower. When the University was inaugurated in 1614, the works of Wessel Gansfort were published at Groningen, works incorporating texts by Hardenberg, Goswinus and others that bore witness to this grand past. It was a past that people obviously greatly sought to link up with, right across the breach and the disturbances of the sixteenth century. And the *Effigies et Vitae* (the 'Portraits and Lives of Groningen Professors') of 1654²² begin with Gansfort, Agricola and with Praedinius, who so gloriously continued the humanist culture of Groningen in the sixteenth century.

In Goswinus' eyes the 'good' letters and the 'holy' ones are of equal importance; he takes them together under the heading of *studia humanitatis*. In fact, he enumerates an entire curriculum, apparently as advice to Hardenberg. First he mentions the poets: Ovid (not too much by that man; a single reading of the *Metamorphoses* will do), Virgil, Horace, Terence. Then the Bible. Then the historians, those of Church and Christianity as well as the pagan ones, of whom he enumerates Plutarch, Sallust, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Justinus (i.e. M. Junius, who epitomized Pomponius Trogus). Plato and Aristotle are next. Cicero should be studied in order to bring one's Latin up to scratch. And then, immediately after the Bible, Augustine. After him also Jerome, Ambrose, John Chrysostom, Gregory, Bernard, and Hugh of St. Victor. Giovanni

^{21a} See now the article by Akkerman, Santing, 'Rudolf Agricola en de Aduarder academie', which contains a full translation in Dutch of the texts by Hardenberg and Goswinus van Halen on the 'Adwert Academy', elucidated by mainly prosopographical notes.

²² *Effigies et Vitae Professorum Academiae Groningae*.

Pico della Mirandola is quoted with reference to a proper distribution of one's time: the morning should be devoted to the philosophers, the afternoon to friendship and physical relaxation and sometimes to the poets and orators as well. The night, says Pico, is shared by sleep and the holy letters.

It was this Frisian culture to which Agricola belonged in the late sixties and the early seventies, and to which he returned in '79/'80. His earliest letter written after his return to Groningen, on 3 April 1480 to Frederik Moorman,²³ even gives us the impression that he had never been away. Apparently he had not broken off ties with his native country. Besides his significance for intellectual history in general and besides his many relationships throughout Europe, it should be kept in mind that, historically speaking, the prominent role he played in these circles has been of decisive importance for his homeland and for himself.

Agricola may have counted himself among the 'homines infimae classis', but this is certainly not true as far as his Groningen origins are concerned. This remark about himself was made as an aside when he was talking about the great demands generally made on people from the lowest social order. He must have had the feeling that only excellence in the humanist arts and sciences earned him the right to enter the fashionable circles he frequented; the feeling that he must redeem the 'error' of entering upon his 'studia sterilia' by stubborn persistence: 'tuendus mihi est error perseverantia', he writes to Occo on 24 August 1479,²⁴ 'et pervicacia, si vacat, praestandum ne videar errasse.' Within the context of Groningen, Agricola's father and mother certainly did not belong to the 'infima classis'. On the contrary, both at Baflo, where he was head of the church, and at Selwerd, his father Hendrik Vries belonged to the leading clergy, and thanks to his function as well as to his personal qualities he enjoyed a considerable reputation. Baflo was one of the six chief church villages of the Groningen Ommelanden. For centuries on end the power of these main churches and their most important dignitaries had been very great. In the documents relating to them, five of these six dignitaries are called provost, the sixth, the one of Baflo, is *persona*.²⁵ The records also call him *curatus*, i.e. parish priest, but the title of *persona* indicates an important position. The administering of canon law to the laity too was in the hands of these five provosts and the *persona*. It is not clear how much of their original power was still vested in

²³ *Ep.* 20.

²⁴ *Ep.* 18. The words 'si vacat' are a conjectural reading.

²⁵ Roelfsema, *De klooster- en proosdijgoederen in de provincie Groningen*, 49-53; Hartgerink-Koomans, 'De proostdijen van Munsters Friesland', 1-31. On the origins of the personate of Baflo, see also the forthcoming doctoral dissertation of P.N. Noomen.

these offices by the fifteenth century, but probably the incumbents still enjoyed great prestige at the time. The Baflö personate implied close ties with the bishop of Münster, who possessed a private demesne at Baflö, which he generally leased to the monastery or the abbot of Selwerd, and later (in 1459) made over to the monastery. Rudolph Agricola lived on what this land brought in, and it allowed him to study at universities abroad for thirteen years.

As abbot of the Benedictine convent of Selwerd too, from 1444 until 1480, Rudolph's father, Hendrik Vries, enjoyed an excellent reputation. He did much for the convent, both in extending its landed holdings and for the religious life within its walls. Owning almost 4,000 acres of land, the convent of Selwerd was the third largest monastic institution in the province.²⁶

Most probably Agricola's mother also came from a wealthy peasant background: she bore a family name of good reputation, which was held in esteem for a very long time after her days and beyond her immediate surroundings.²⁷ When Rudolph Agricola was appointed town clerk, he moved to a considerably higher place in the socio-political field of Groningen and surroundings than that to which his father and mother had belonged. In his days, the town of Groningen as has been said, had taken the lead in the region and was never to surrender it again.²⁸

Of all this, we find very little in Agricola's letters and the *Vitae*. Gerard Geldenhouwer comes closest to the truth when he writes:

Agricolarum familia apud Frisios inter honoratores semper habita est.

The Agricola family has always ranked among the more honoured ones in Friesland.

In his days Geldenhouwer may still have been able to obtain information on this score at Louvain or elsewhere in the Low Countries.

For the rest, all the biographical source material is so selective that a social context is almost entirely lacking. The *Vitae* are interesting, sometimes splendid gems of rhetoric, written to get a particular message across to a specific audience; each of their writers has his own vocabulary,

²⁶ Damen, 'Het dubbelklooster Selwerd'; and his *Geschiedenis van de Benediktijnenkloosters*, 21, 34, 35, 51-75.

²⁷ When Agricola's half-brother Hendrik had stolen money from church-funds entrusted to his father, Rudolph gave the advice to pay back the stolen sum ('centum florenos') from his mother's inheritance (*Ep.* 31, of 21 January 1483). On the good reputation of the Huusman family see Goswinus van Halen; but Goswinus is probably mistaken in assuming that Huusman was the family name of Rudolph's father. It is far more plausible that his mother's family was so called.

²⁸ On the importance of the office of town clerk, see the paper by F.J. Bakker in this volume; see also Schuitema Meijer, *Historie van het archief der stad Groningen*, 27-28.

has had his own theological and philosophical training and prejudices. All such aspects will have to be carefully weighed before it is possible to do anything whatever with these texts; and we have hardly started yet.²⁹ There is one thing they have in common: the conviction that Agricola was an 'incomparabilis heros', as Geldenhouwer has it, an almost mythical exemplar of living and working in the humanist way. Only Goswinus strikes a somewhat different note.

As regards the letters, all this applies *a fortiori*.³⁰ They are highly selective in the choice of correspondents, of subject matter, and of stylistic devices. A general feature of their tone and content is their focus on the future. Their range of subject matter is exceedingly wide, so that Petrarch's formula for the humanist letter – 'multa igitur ... familiariter ad amicos ... nunc de publicis privatisque negotiis, nunc de doloribus nostris' – applies in full. But much is absent as well, due to a selectivity exercised almost by instinct. Virtually not a word is devoted to religion, church or faith; nothing is said about ecclesiastical institutions, the monasteries, the clergy and their activities; not a word about the country around Groningen, about the rich and pretentious *hetmans* (Dutch *hoofdelingen*); in short, Groningen's entire ecclesiastical and social structure is absent from these texts. From the perspective of two of the three forces in the social life of the province, these letters could just as well have been written after 1594, indeed after the French Revolution.³¹ To Agricola, these forces are already part of the past. For the renovation in Europe as visualized by the humanist, in an intellectual, moral and artistic sense, they no longer have anything to offer. But town and town administration are mentioned; not too often, but they are emphatically present. Town life is where the future lies – that is something of which our humanist is well aware. And that is indeed where the future sprang from, not even from Von Dalberg's *Musenhof*, which collapsed as fast as it had flowered. It was in the town schools of Deventer, Münster, Alkmaar and Groningen that humanism took firm root. Agricola's true heirs in this respect were Alexander Hegius, Petrus Montanus, Joannes Murmellius, Regnerus Praedinus, Ubbo Emmius. That is why the negative passages about Groningen and its inhabitants do not only form great literature, but also a kind of paradoxical homage to the town on which he had set his hopes. He might find personal safety at Heidelberg but his

²⁹ Cf. Weiss, 'The six lives of Rudolph Agricola'. On the *Vita* by Johannes von Pleningen, see my article 'Rudolf Agricola, een humanistenleven'.

³⁰ See my article 'De neolatijnse epistolografie – Rudolf Agricola'.

³¹ In 1594 two princes of Orange forced the town of Groningen to rejoin definitively the Republic. Roman Catholicism in town and province was then wiped out, the monasteries were closed. The French Revolution marked the end of the *hetmans* as a closed caste.

task lay in 'Groningen'. Indications that Agricola felt his homecoming as a mission in life can be found in his own letters as well as in the *Vitae*. Johann von Pleningen sees him returning as a merchant with all the cultural wares of Italy in his luggage,

ut rursum Frisia suis liberaliter impartiretur disseminaretque,
so that he might lavishly share out and disseminate it to his Frisians,

and he believes that Agricola did indeed find fertile soil for the *studia*:

Transegit autem in patria annos tres summo studiorum fructu et gloria maximaque litteratorum (quorum in Frisia magnus est numerus) admiratione.

He passed three years in his fatherland to the great profit of the studies and with honour and the highest admiration from the side of the literate, of which there were a great number in Friesland.

Even in the letter of dedication to the *De inventione dialectica* Agricola does not fail to mention his Frisians.

Not that we really need this missionary zeal to account for Agricola's return to his homeland. One should realize that both to himself and to the town administrators his appointment to the position of town clerk must have been attractive.³² In the years before and during his sojourn at Groningen he refused impressive offers on the part of others: a chair of poetics at Louvain in 1477, a headmastership of the Latin school at Antwerp (1482), a position as *secretarius ab epistolis Latinis* at the Burgundian court including the education of Maximilian's children (1482). There is nothing unnatural about his entering upon a career in the public service. Like his German and Dutch fellow students Agricola was sent to universities abroad to make a career at home afterwards, and to gain profits from his studies. Even in the first letters which he wrote after he had crossed the Alps on his return in 1479, he announces to his friend Occo that he will return to Italy as soon as his affairs (*res meae*) will allow him. And as late as on 31 May 1483, while telling his brother that he is about to leave Groningen within a month, he mentions again the financial issue:

sed perdere rationem omnem vitae hoc loco sine ullo fructu aut vel re vel spe bona, vides cuius dementiae sit.³³

³² On a career in the public service as a matter of course for a humanist, see the remarks by Eckhard Kessler in his article 'Humanistische Denkelemente', VII : 1, 34-35.

³³ *Ep.* 34. The words 'vel re vel spe bona' are a reminiscence of Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*, 21, 2 'neque res neque spes bona ulla'.

but to lose my whole pattern of life in this place without any profit or without any good money or good hope, you see what madness this would be.

So, besides the cultural and intellectual motives there may also have been commonplace financial reasons for his departure. Did the Groningen town clerkship yield a regular salary? And if so, was it high enough to satisfy both his self-esteem and his needs? Let us not forget that he hailed from a cool businesslike background.

A significant feature of Agricola's negative verdicts on Groningen is that they are always couched in literary abstractions and anonymity. They never involve specific persons. The letters always speak highly of people from Groningen. Another striking fact is that these aggressive passages occur only in letters to his friend Adolph Occo and his half-brother Johannes, both fellow humanists and both from his own region and well acquainted with Groningen.

In the same letter I quoted before, dated Cologne, 19 October 1480, Agricola writes to Adolph Occo:

Ego scriba sum Gauronicae nostrae: sic enim soleo oppidum nostrum vocare; ὄνος πρὸς λύραν inquis; recte, hercule.³⁴

I am the town clerk of our Gauronica – for this is what I am wont to call our town. An ass at the lyre, I hear you say – and rightly so, by Hercules.

Just like in the case of his social origins or the general level of civilization at Groningen, there is little reason to take Agricola too literally here. The letter abounds with humanist literature: the story about Archimedes which I quoted earlier is found in Vitruvius. The scouring of the Libyan deserts is a quotation from Vergil's *Aeneid*, a verse in which Agricola cunningly replaced the words 'ignotus egens' by 'solus egenus', for he could not very well call himself a stranger in Groningen.³⁵ And 'an ass at the lyre' too contains a double entendre: in this form it is in fact not a Greek expression at all, but a translation from Latin: *asinus ad lyram*. As quoted here, it means: the ass coming to the lyre: and then Agricola, just back from Italy, is the ass, Groningen the lyre, and the administrative game in the town hall the music for which he lacks the ear. But it goes without saying that friend Occo was clever enough not to need anyone's help in order to perform the ironic inversion that Agricola intended. Occo knew Greek, which is why he was deemed worthy of such a joke. After all, Rudolph could use the name Gauronica or Gauronia, solely found in two letters to Occo, only with someone who knew Greek. The name must be

³⁴ Ep. 22.

³⁵ Vitruvius VI, pr. 1; Vergil, *Aeneis* I. 384. The story about Archimedes is in fact told about Aristippus by Vitruvius.

derived from the Greek root *γαυρό-*, as it is found, for instance, in the adjective *γαυρός* for which Liddle and Scott give: 'exulting, haughty, disdainful', but sometimes also in ameliorative sense: 'splendid', and also: 'skittish'. It may well be that Agricola intends all shades of meaning in his playful namegiving of Groningen.

Thus of fifteenth-century Groningen not a single concrete element is encountered in the letters, nor of its pretensions and its aspirations to political power; we find only this literary reaction of the humanist heart. All the passages from this letter which I have quoted are literary allusions and clever puns. This makes them, both in form and content, part and parcel of the literary code in which the group of Northern humanists, still very small and exclusive, and scattered all over Europe, but all well-known to each other, expressed their mutual affinity and their distaste for 'the petrified and almost crumbling culture of our time', as Agricola phrases it in a letter to Antonius Liber of Soest.³⁶ Occo also is not too friendly about Augsburg: he wants to leave for a place 'where learned people are of some account'. Agricola will look out for him at Cologne, but as Occo is a physician, Rudolph warns him beforehand:

sunt hic Medici in quibus unus qui ceterum praestat (vir ut audio doctus)
sed nostri proventus et qui Italiam numquam adierit: frigida omnia.³⁷

there are doctors here, one of whom (a learned man, I hear) excels in all
other respects, but is merely a local product, and has never been to Italy.
How tedious it all is.

Literary fiction, therefore, from which one should only prudently draw conclusions. Agricola writes all this in October 1480, when he has just returned to Groningen from Italy. That summer he had paid two visits to the court of Maximilian. He had received Frederik Moorman at Groningen; his mother died in April, his father on the first of October. But with regard to his 'sordidum negotium' he has hardly had time yet to have a single unpleasant experience.

No fiction, however, without reality. This reality is expressed in a far more run-of-the-mill manner in a letter probably written in the winter of 1481/1482. Rudolph then gives his brother an account of another journey to the court of Maximilian. It was a difficult journey: for half a year he travelled with the court, he had to weather conflicts with certain people there – 'monsters, as mendacious as they are greedy'. But he managed to achieve something important for the town in a long-drawnout lawsuit.

³⁶ *Ep.* 4 of 5 February 1471.

³⁷ *Ep.* 22.

And then:

Nihil est opus ut quaeras, quam gratiam pro hac solicitudine mea, quam benevolentiam apud cives nostros meruerim; scis morem et ingenia nostrorum hominum, quae quanquam et antehac iamdudum cognovi: tamen nunc prolixissime et uberrime expertus sum.³⁸

You need not ask how much gratitude, how much friendliness I have earned from our townsfellows: you know the character and style of our Groningen people. Although I had made their acquaintance long before, I have now acquired a very rich and abundant experience with them.

He has therefore decided to leave the very next summer. In a later letter, dated 11 October 1482, this one to Occo again and therefore of a more literary shape, the inhabitants of Groningen are severely taken to task for their coarseness. At the invitation of bishop Von Dalberg, Rudolph has now decided to exchange Groningen permanently for Heidelberg. The letter is indeed written at Heidelberg, and contrasts the delights he expects there with

... patriam nostram, ut et aliae plerumque, sine usu sine honore eruditiois; genus hominum subrusticum et malignum, ab omni consuetudine animalium ingenuorum abhorrens, laudans sine iudicio, <reprehendens> sine causa, utrumque visum est infestum et adversum, loquax, lividum et ἀψικορώτατον.³⁹

... my home town where, as in most other towns, learning is neither pursued nor honoured; a type of people rather uncouth and ill-disposed, averse to all acquaintance with civilized spirits, praising without discernment, censuring without cause – and both sound inimical and aggressive – garrulous, envious and fickle.

A splendid series of Latin words, culminating in the whiplash of the Greek ἀψικορώτατον, which Agricola no doubt learned from the *Axiochos*; ‘soon sated’ is what it means: they may briefly be charmed by higher forms of culture, but it must not be long, for they quickly have enough. But then, for the first time, he strikes another note, and one that will keep sounding in later letters as well:

Contra tamen tenet me consuetudo patriae et occultum nescio quod vinculum iniectum animo quod magis quale sit sentio quam possim dicere.⁴⁰

But on the other hand there is the familiarity of the homeland and some mysterious bond keeping my heart fettered. What it is, I feel rather than that I am able to state it.

³⁸ Ep. 23.

³⁹ Ep. 26.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

On 6 February 1483 he writes to Dietrich von Pleningen, now from Groningen again:

Cives nostri, qui nunc etiam ex aliorum iudicio incipiunt me in hominum numero habere, pulchriora promittunt, si hic permaneam; quanquam nondum me dicam abire velle, subolet tamen eis alio me spectare, ut scis morem esse ministrorum qui mutare dominos quaerunt: ut insolentius serviant, ita arbitror eos ex contumacia mea intelligere dissidium me quaerere.⁴¹

My fellow-citizens, who are now also – on other people's authority – beginning to consider me a human being, are promising me great things if I stay. Although I have not yet told them that I want to leave, they scent that my thoughts are elsewhere. You know the behaviour of servants looking round for another master: they will serve in a cheekier way. And so I think that they have concluded from my defiance that I am seeking a separation.

Yet on 31 May 1483 he tells his brother that he is leaving reluctantly: 'Abeo sane invitus.' (*Ep.* 34). It is impressive to see how he then manages to be of service to the town once more, in a large gesture of a peer among peers. In the autumn of 1483 – he still hasn't left – he writes to his brother that he is on the point of accompanying burgomaster Everard Hubbelding to Holland in order once more to try and reach a settlement in the long-drawn-out Van Heukelom case:

Mihi hoc iter incommode accidit, nam aut debebat metus me pestilentiae a profecione detergere, aut si hunc timorem contemnere auderem, satius esset me eo proficisci quo ipse mea cause decrevi pergere. Sed tamen nolui negare orantibus, quia tanto arctius nunc eos mihi obligaturus eram hoc merito meo (si tamen ii sunt qui ullo merito obligari possunt) quanto nunc mihi liberius erat et iustius negare.⁴²

To me, this journey is inconvenient, for either fear of the plague should deter me, or, if I had the courage to disregard that fear, I had better have travelled to where I have decided to go in my own interest. Yet I did not want to refuse their pressing request, since by this favour I can now bind them the closer to me (that is, if they can be bound by any favour), now that I had more freedom and more right to refuse.

And thus he left, apparently without bad feelings on either side, in April 1484. Nor did he remember Groningen with ill-will, and indeed, the citizens of Groningen had not treated him badly. Once at Heidelberg, he feels terribly unhappy. In a letter of 23 July 1484, he lets his brother know:

Deinde semper quasi Horatii illud per os redit: patriae quis exul, se quoque fugit. Assueram iam regioni nostrae, et illa etiam mihi ...⁴³

⁴¹ *Ep.* 32.

⁴² *Ep.* 35.

⁴³ *Ep.* 39.

And then I keep recalling Horace's dictum: 'Who leaves his native land, flees from himself.' I had just got used to our region, and the region also to me ...

When he was still at home, this Horatian dictum had also crossed his mind now and then, but it had been outweighed by that other saying: 'Where life is good, there is my fatherland.'⁴⁴ Another thing that strikes us is that now, from a distance, at Heidelberg, town and surrounding country are fused into a single 'regio' by the sentiment of patriotism.

One of the reasons which Agricola advances for feeling obliged to remain at Heidelberg, is that there he is able to keep an eye on his half-brother Hendrik, who was something of a bad lot. He had had false starts at several schools, he had stolen money from the church funds entrusted to his father, and he had run away to Heidelberg to obtrude himself upon the bishop as the brother of the humanist. It is compelling to see how, from his first letters after his return to Groningen up to the very end of his life, Rudolph showed himself responsible for Hendrik. The same holds true for his half-sister, whose name we do not know, but who is mentioned several times, mostly in a rather sad tone, in the letters to his oldest half-brother Johannes. Johannes had studied together with Rudolph in Italy and made an important career as secretary to the recently established county of East Frisia.⁴⁵ Johannes had probably been Rudolph's personal assistant and secretary during the first year in Groningen⁴⁶ and now became his colleague in Aurich. The brothers shared their love for humanist letters and were each other's most intimate friends as long as they lived. Rudolph's letters to his brother (ten out of fifty) are the most personal of the collection. Even though they are mainly about intimate family matters, they are always written in elegant Neo-Latin and sufficiently appreciated by Johannes to have been carefully saved and later handed over to Alardus of Amsterdam by Johannes' widow. Apart from the hopes he had set on the cultural development of his fatherland in a humanist direction, and apart from his

⁴⁴ *Ep. 26: 'Patria est ubi vivere delectat.'*

⁴⁵ See Lamschuss, *Enden unter der Herrschaft der Cirkensa*, 346-347.

⁴⁶ That he was also his *typographus* as Goswinus has it, must be a mistake; the first printer did not appear in Groningen before the end of the sixteenth century. In a personal letter Prof. IJsewijn suggested the reading *chirographus*. This word, however, denotes, as far as I know, an autograph document, not the scribe himself. In the copy which Joachim Alting (1556-1625) made of Wilhelmus Frederici's *Forma eligendi pastoris*, the common medieval spelling *cyrographus* (*sic: masc.*) is used. Zuidema, *Wilhelmus Frederici*, 155, incorrectly reads this as the nonsense-word *tyrographus* four times. It may well be that Goswinus used a learned word of which he did not know the exact meaning; the copyist of his text finally construed this word with the wrong letters. On the form and function of the *cyrographum*, see *Lexicon des Mittelalters*, II, col. 1844-1845.

aspirations for a career in the service of Groningen, family ties also may have impelled Agricola to come home. In the absence of other allegiances, the bonds of family were extremely strong in the Frisian lands. The *conterranei* too advised and helped each other in life as best they could. Agricola's most intimate counsellors were people from his own country: his brother Johannes, Adolph Occo, Rudolph Kamerling, Wilhelmus Frederici perhaps, and others as well.

The last letter to his brother Johannes is dated Rome, 30 May 1485, five months before Rudolph's death. Taking us by surprise he writes, somewhat enigmatically:

Spero circa nundinas nostras Groningenses venturum me in patriam; quod si non potero, ad festum Paschae sequens haud dubie veniam, quod et mallem et mihi commodius esset.⁴⁷

I hope to be able to visit my home town around our annual fair at Groningen, and should that fail, I shall certainly come for next year's Easter, which I should like even better and would be more convenient to me.

When, in 1460, Ludovico Carbone delivered the funeral oration for Guarino of Verona, he began by speaking about the latter's home town:

Principium autem a patria sumi non alienum puto, quae saepenumero gerendarum rerum maximarum occasionem praestat.⁴⁸

It would not be out of place, I presume, to begin with the fatherland, which often enough offers an opportunity to perform great deeds.

He then alludes to the anecdote told by Cicero in the *Cato Maior de senectute* about Themistocles: a man from Seriphos reminded Themistocles of the fact that the latter owed a major part of his fame not to himself, but to his home town. Themistocles did not deny this, but, he said, if I hailed from Seriphos and you from Athens, neither of us would be famous. From there on, Carbone has no problems with Guarino: formerly, Verona basked in the lustre of the Della Scala family, in antiquity it gave birth to Catullus and the two Plinies. Agricola has not yet learned to be proud of Liudger and Bernlef. He could only visualize civilization for the North as an adoption of Mediterranean culture. And then Groningen does indeed lie somewhat off-centre. But in any case he became thoroughly acquainted with his own roots. Did he achieve then complete liberation from these roots, so that he had no need to break with them?

⁴⁷ Ep. 48. The Groningen fair was in September.

⁴⁸ See the text in Müllner, *Reden und Briefe italienischer Humanisten*, 91.

J. IJSEWIJN

AGRICOLA AS A GREEK SCHOLAR

If one looks for fundamental diverging characteristics between Renaissance Humanism and Medieval Scholasticism the most important one – apart from the completely different use of Latin¹ – might well be the new knowledge of and new approach to classical Greek literature. This fact has been pointed out quite convincingly by eminent scholars such as G. Folena, E. Garin² and, last, not least, P.O. Kristeller. From the latter's *Renaissance Thought and its Sources* allow me to quote a page which makes the whole extent and the cultural significance of those new acquisitions perfectly clear:³

Even more obvious and perhaps more important is the humanist contribution in the case of those Greek texts which had never been translated into Latin during the Middle Ages. The volume and importance of these texts seems to have been greatly underestimated by many historians who have studied the problem. They include even a few texts of the *Corpus Aristotelicum*, such as the *Mechanics* (and in a way the *Poetics*) and a large number of Greek commentaries on Aristotle, as well as many writings of the same scientific authors that had been known to the Middle Ages through some of their works, such as Hippocrates, Galen, Archimedes, and Ptolemy. Moreover, there are other ancient philosophers besides Aristotle of whom the Middle Ages knew only some works, such as Plato, Sextus, and Proclus; or nothing at all, such as Epicurus, Epictetus, or Plotinus; and, if we include the more popular and more widely read authors, Xenophon, Plutarch, or Lucian. If we turn to Greek literature in the proper sense of the word, everything was new and unknown from the Western point of view: Lysias, Isocrates, Demosthenes, and the other orators; Herodotus, Thucydides and Polybius; Homer and Hesiod; the tragedians and Aristophanes; Pindar and the other lyrical poets, not to mention the Anthology of the Greek epigrams or many lesser poets and prose writers. In other words, an educated person of the sixteenth century, whether he was able to read Greek or not, had at his disposal the complete patrimony of classical Greek literature and science. For anybody who appreciates Greek literature and non-Aristotelian philosophy, this is a cultural development of the very first order, and it is a fact of which we must remind those numerous historians who insist on the essentially medieval character of humanism and of the Renaissance.

¹ See on this Blatt, 'Die letzte Phase der lateinischen Sprache' and IJsewijn, 'Mittelalterliches Latein und Humanistenlatein'.

² See now Gualdo Rosa, 'Le traduzione dal greco nella prima metà del '400'.

³ Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources*, 148-149.

Nobody will deny that in the late Middle Ages some Western scholars knew Greek and translated Greek texts into Latin. These texts were mainly if not exclusively philosophic and scientific in nature. But it is not less true – and the works of R. Weiss and W. Berschin⁴ leave no doubt on that point – that an aesthetic interest in Greek literature such as we find from the Renaissance onwards was altogether non-existent. No one bothered to read Homer or Sophocles or any other of the major poets and prose-writers. The feelings Petrarch expressed in a letter to a Byzantine friend who had sent him a manuscript of the *Iliad*⁵ were unknown before and can be taken as a symbol of the new spirit, and the letter itself is a *manifesto* of the humanist revival of Greek literary studies. The next step in the process was the arrival in Florence at the very end of the fourteenth century of the Byzantine scholar Manuel Chrysoloras. The humanist chancellor Coluccio Salutati had invited him to Florence to teach Greek at the *Studio*. The three years he spent in this chair were to leave a deep impression on Florentine humanist circles and laid the solid base in Italy for a quickly expanding and flourishing Greek scholarship. From then on scholars such as Leonardo Bruni, Francesco Filelfo, Guarino da Verona, Lorenzo Valla, Pier Candido Decembrio and many others undertook the enthralling task of making known again to the West the rich treasures of classical Greek literature. Some of them went to Constantinople in search of manuscripts; all worked at Latin translations of Greek authors, pagan as well as christian.⁶ Today we can hardly imagine how arduous and difficult it was to translate Greek texts when there were as yet no good grammars or dictionaries, and when the texts to be read were not in a critical edition but in a faulty manuscript lacking learned commentaries and clarifying notes.

Humanist Greek scholarship for a long time was an Italian affair, i.e. carried out by Italians and a growing number of Greek exiles and refugees who knew Latin and joined with the Italians in translating and commentating on Greek works. Famous among those Greeks were Agricola's older contemporaries Theodorus Gaza, whose Greek grammar was later translated by Erasmus, and George of Trebizond, author of a great handbook on rhetoric and in that way a precursor of Agricola's main work *De inventione dialectica*.

Outside Italy a humanist knowledge or study of Greek was totally unknown for the greater part of the fifteenth century. And although a

⁴ Weiss, *Medieval and Humanist Greek*; Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter*.

⁵ *Epistolae ad Familiares* 18:2.

⁶ For the translation of patristic literature see for example Stinger, 'Greek patristics and Christian antiquity in Renaissance Rome'.

great many students crossed the Alps in order to study at Italian universities, hardly any of them cared for Greek until the beginning of the sixteenth century. There were exceptions of course. Perhaps the first student from the Low Countries who is known to have studied Greek with a humanist-minded teacher is Rolandus de Rivo (Vanderbeken, Van Beek) from Breda. He was in Rome around 1380 with the Greek bishop Simon Atumanus, who had a text of Euripides with him. However, the question remains whether the interests of this cleric from Brabant were really humanistic; and in any case he cannot be considered the founder of humanist Greek studies in his homeland. That honour is due to Rudolph Agricola, the famous Frisian from Baflo near Groningen. It is therefore worthwhile to learn how Agricola acquired his knowledge and how he used his rare skill.

Unfortunately, very little scholarly work has been done so far on Agricola. The basic tools for further research, *viz.* critical and annotated editions of his works, lack almost completely. As a consequence, much of what I am going to say is only tentative and there remains a great deal of uncertainty and guesswork. With that reserve in mind, I will now discuss the following questions:

1. Where did Agricola acquire his knowledge of Greek?
2. Which Greek authors did he read?
3. What is the quality of his linguistic knowledge?

First then, where did Agricola learn Greek? Traditionally it has been said that he left Pavia for Ferrara in 1475 in order to study Greek. This story is transmitted by Joannes de Pleningen in his *Commentarii de vita Agricolae*, and all subsequent historians took it for granted until 1975. In that year, Professor Sottili demonstrated that during Agricola's stay at Pavia a Greek course was being taught by Giorgio Valla at the University.⁷ This means that Agricola had the opportunity to learn Greek at Pavia too. But did he attend Valla's lectures, as Prof. Sottili is inclined to believe? and if he did, why did he leave Pavia for Ferrara in order to study Greek? I am also ready, with Sottili, to accept the possibility that Agricola heard Valla at Pavia. But perhaps he was not very enthusiastic about that course – we must not forget that Giorgio Valla was more of a philosopher than a literary man – and, as a consequence, Agricola may have been looking for a better place to learn Greek. Here again we must bear in mind that Pavia at that time was not at all famous as a center for Greek studies. The very

⁷ Sottili, 'La Natio Germanica dell'Università di Pavia', 360.

⁸ See for example Bertoni, *La biblioteca Estense e la Cultura Ferrarese*, 115-120; Bertoni, *Guarino da Verona*; Gundersheimer, *Ferrara*, 114-115.

existence of Valla's course was ignored until 1975, which says enough about its celebrity. But for several decades Ferrara had already been a brilliant center of Greek learning in the humanist sense.⁸ At the University famous men like the Greek Theodorus Gaza and the great pedagogue Guarino da Verona had established a solid tradition of teaching and translating. Guarino's son Battista was to become one of Agricola's masters. Therefore, I believe that Agricola went to Ferrara because he was not satisfied with the Greek studies the Lombard city could offer his literary taste and mind. In this sense he really began to study Greek in Ferrara, as Pleningen testifies and as Agricola confirms in his letter to Walter Woudensis from Ferrara, 14 April 1476.⁹

Studia nostra eadem sunt, quae semper, hoc est steriles et contumaces melioris consilii litterulae nostrae, quibus omnem dedicavimus vitam. Addidi graecas litteras, quo cumulatius eis, qui frustra in hoc me stadio decurrere putant, videar insanire.

One fact cannot be doubted: Ferrara roused enthusiasm to such an extent that in 1477 he declined an offer to come to Louvain to take the new humanist chair of Poetics. He preferred to stay with his Greek books and teachers and so 'Graecae litterae mihi conditionem eam, quae Lovanii oblata fuit, abstulerunt', as he wrote to his friend Dietrich (Theodoricus) von Pleningen in 1482.¹⁰

When Agricola began to apply himself thoroughly to the study of Greek, he was in his early thirties, no longer a young man according to the notion of his time. Erasmus was more or less the same age when he embarked upon the same study. It was not until well into the sixteenth century that younger students were offered the possibility of studying Greek in the Low Countries. The foundation of the *Collegium Trilingue* at Louvain in 1517 is a pivotal date in that evolution.

Even a superficial glance at Agricola's collected (but not entirely complete)¹¹ work leaves us with the impression that his acquaintance with Greek and Greek literature was far from negligible. A man who can translate Greek works in the uneasy situation I have pointed out before, and who can write Greek letters, is something more than a beginner. But let us try to describe more accurately the extent and the depth of Agricola's knowledge as far as the present state of his works allows. I will

⁸ *Ep.* 10.

⁹ *Ep.* 28.

¹¹ Some smaller works not in Alardus' collection (letters, the *Vita Petrarchae*, etc.) have been published in the 19th and 20th centuries. Other texts are still awaiting editions which will make them more easily accessible. For the preparation of this paper Agricola's commentary on Boethius was not at my disposition; it may well contain additional information on this subject.

first ask what he knew precisely of Greek literature, then try to define his linguistic skills.

Which Greek authors did Agricola know? Before I try to answer that question, a distinction must be made, *viz.* which authors did he know and read in the original and which ones in Latin translation only? In order to find a reliable answer, let us see what kind of information we have. First, Agricola translated a certain number of texts and in these cases a knowledge of the original is self-evident; furthermore, he quotes a number of authors, some in the Greek original, some in translation. In the last case we are faced with the question whether he is quoting from his own translation or from somebody else's. I must point out from the outset that it has not been possible for me to answer this question in each case, however important the answer might have been.

Let us now come to a systematic survey of the authors he knew, directly or indirectly, completely or only in part. His translations into Latin comprise the following texts and authors:

1. Plato, or rather Pseudo-Plato, *Axiochus de contemnenda morte*:¹² a fairly short dialogue translated at Ferrara. It survives in three different versions which allow us to see Agricola at work in improving his own translation. Agricola was not the first to render the *Axiochus* into Latin. At least four Italians had done so before him, among them the famous Platonist Marsilius Ficinus. Curiously enough it was Agricola's version which at a certain moment was inserted into Ficinus' translation of Plato.¹³

2. Isocrates: Agricola translated two shorter works, the *Ad Demonicum Paraenesis*¹⁴ and the *Ad Nicoclem Cypri regem*.¹⁵ For neither is he the first translator. On the contrary, the great number of translations surviving from the fifteenth century (fourteen for the *Ad Nicoclem* alone!) suggests that they were commonly used for school exercises. The diffusion of Agricola's two translations is extremely different: according to Mr Geerinckx the *Ad Demonicum* came down to us in not less than four versions, whereas the *Ad Nicoclem* is only known from the *Lucubrationes*, edited by Alardus of Amsterdam in 1539, which means that Agricola had kept it always among his personal papers.

3. Aphthonius Sophista:¹⁶ the third author Agricola translated while still at Ferrara is a late rhetorician, whose manuscript *Progymnasmata* are known to have been in the library of Guarino da Verona. In this case

¹² Vermeire, 'Rodolphus Agricola's *Axiochus*-vertaling'.

¹³ See G. Tournoy's paper in this volume.

¹⁴ Geerinckx, 'R. Agricola's Latijnse vertaling van (Ps.) – Isocrates' *Ad Demonicum*'.

¹⁵ Swings, 'Rudolf Agricola's Latijnse vertaling van Isocrates' *Ad Nicoclem*'.

¹⁶ L. Geerinckx is working towards a critical edition.

Agricola is among the very first Latin translators of the text. From the second half of the fifteenth century we possess two other translations by Italians, but they were not printed before the sixteenth century; furthermore, there is a third by the Greek Janus Lascaris, but whether these three or at least one of them precede Agricola is not clear. Anyhow, Agricola's translation seems to be an independent work.

4. Lucian: back in Germany, Agricola translated two short works by Lucian, the *De non facile credendis delationibus* or *De calumnia* (Dillingen 1479)¹⁷ and the *Gallus de somnio* or *Micyllus*. In so doing he was following again a long Italian tradition: the translating of Lucian had already been practised in the Florentine courses of Chrysoloras; and the first Lucianic writing which had been translated by Guarino while he was still studying at Constantinople (1405/06) was the *De calumnia*. One of Guarino's pupils and a prolific translator of Greek texts, the younger Lapo da Castiglionchio, translated the same about 1435/37. Lapo is also known as a translator of the two Isocratean works Agricola put into Latin. Finally, when Agricola wrote his version of the *De calumnia*, a third translation by Francesco Griffolini of Arezzo was already available in print (Nürnberg 1475). On the other hand, Agricola may have been the first translator of the *Gallus*; at least, I do not know of an earlier Latin version, only later ones, such as the one by Erasmus.¹⁸ If my guess is correct, it would show Agricola in Germany tackling untranslated texts on his own. In fact, even if we accept that he was the first to translate Aphthonius, that version was made in Ferrara where help from more expert friends and colleagues was available.

Before we draw further conclusions from this survey of translations by Agricola, a word must be said about a number of pseudo-translations which still haunt Agricola scholarship. There are indeed not less than four hoaxes in the old collected works of Agricola or in the modern literature on him.

First there are the *Praeexercitamenta* of Hermogenes, which Nauwelaerts in his Agricola biography (1963) still reports as one of the translations which Agricola made in Ferrara. As a matter of fact, that translation had already been made in the sixth century by the grammarian Priscianus, as Agricola himself writes in his *Commentaries on Seneca*. According to Alardus in his praefatory letter to Arnoldus Alectorius of Cologne,¹⁹ Agricola added this ancient version to his own Aphthonius as a related text.

Next there is the *Epistola D. Eucherii episcopi ad Valerianum cognatum suum*

¹⁷ Bleuckx, 'Lucianus' *De Calumnia* en R. Agricola's Latijnse vertaling'.

¹⁸ Gualdo Rosa, 'A proposito di due libri recenti sul *Fortileben* di Luciano'.

¹⁹ Alardus II, 77.

de contemptu mundi et cura animarum, which was printed at Deventer by Jacobus de Breda bearing on the title-page the following note: 'Per magistrum Rodolphum Agricolam traducta'.²⁰ This must be a fraudulent or at least erroneous addition of the printer-publisher since it is hard to believe without proof that Agricola would have presented as his translation a text originally written in Latin. Already Erasmus was not fooled by this commercial fake:²¹ 'In any case, that the book could not be a translation made by Rodolphus Agricola is clear enough from the style, especially since it makes use of several forms of expression which could not possibly reproduce a Greek original.' Nevertheless Nauwelaerts still lists it among Agricola's translations.

Further, among Agricola's *Opera*²² one finds four short texts *Ad Alexandrum Macedonum regem Demosthenis simul et Aeschinis oratiunculae aliquot Rodolpho Agricola interprete*. Their probably medieval origin is obscure but certainly spurious. It is not clear who ascribed them to Agricola, but even Alardus had the impression that Barbara, a daughter of Antonius Liber/Vrije from Soest, who sold him the text, had in fact fleeced him of his money. Alardus had discovered, so he explains in a letter to Rutgerus Rescius, that the beginning of the first text was simply a variation of a passage from Cicero's *Pro Ligario*. Nevertheless, he printed the texts among Agricola's works without further warning.²³

Finally, in 1958 Quirinus Breen added a new hoax to the old ones.²⁴ He wrote: 'In the Bodleian Library was found a manuscript of Agricola introducing *Cratis Thebani Cynici epistolae aureis sententiis refertae, theologicae consentaneae*. It is possible that Agricola translated these letters (Manuscript Bywater 15).' The origin of this hoax is a confusion of namesakes in the typewritten catalogue of the Bywater Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library.²⁵ This catalogue writes: '(fol. 208) a letter headed "Rudolphus Agricola Rhetus (sic for Phreysius) Wasserburgensis Valentino Eckio Philyropolitano (of Lindau)", dated 1512.' The date alone excludes any connection with our Frisian Agricola. The author of the letter is in fact Rudolphus Agricola junior or Rudolf Baumann, who used *Rhaetus* to distinguish himself from his illustrious Frisian namesake. He was born at

²⁰ Huisman, *Bibliography*, no. 360.

²¹ Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*, no. 676 (ed. Allen).

²² Alardus II, 171-174.

²³ On the origin of these speeches, see in this volume our *Bibliography*, p. 327 [note of the edd.].

²⁴ Breen, 'A critical edition of the *De inventione dialectica* of Rudolph Agricola (1443-1485)', 436.

²⁵ Ms Albinia de la Mare of The Bodleian Library kindly sent me a xerox of the description of ms 15.

Wasserburg am Bodensee near Lindau in 1490 and died at Krakow in 1521.²⁶

If we definitely strike Hermogenes, Eucherius, Demosthenes, Aeschines and Crates Thebanus from the list of Agricola's translations, we are left with four authors, three of whom at least belonged to the traditional set of school exercises in Italian humanist class-rooms; even Aphthonius may have been such a text in Ferrara. However, Agricola's interest can be explained by his special studies of ancient rhetoric in preparation for his major work *De inventione dialectica*. Compared to the achievements of his Italian predecessors and contemporaries, the total output of Agricola's translation work is not spectacular but rather modest. Men such as Leonardo Bruni, Guarino, Francesco Filelfo, Lorenzo Valla and many others rendered into Latin far more and far larger Greek works. Bruni, for example, translated works by Aristotle (*Politica*, *Ethica Nicomachea*, (ps.) *Oeconomica*), Plutarch, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Aristophanes (part of the *Plutus*), Basilius, Plato (*Phaedon*, *Gorgias*, *Phaedrus*, *Apologia*, *Criton*, *Letters* and in part the *Convivium*). One must remember that Bruni was very busy, as an official of the Roman Curia first and as the chancellor of the Florentine republic later, and that he was also a prolific writer of historiographical and oratorial works in Latin. Valla translated Thucydides, Herodotus, speeches by Demosthenes etc. Of course, Agricola died younger than most of his Italian colleagues and this may explain in part his limited translation work. Nevertheless, a correct assessment of Agricola's contribution to the diffusion of Greek literature cannot but admit that seen against the Italian background it was small and of a repetitive or at least secondary nature. If Agricola had happened to be an Italian humanist, one would take but little notice of his performance. But he was a Frisian, a man from Northern Europe, and this makes him a precursor and a pioneer who deserves attention. As far as I can see, he is the very first Northerner who knew Greek thoroughly and was able to make valuable translations of classical Greek works which were something more than word-by-word renderings.²⁷ So doing he paved the way for men like Erasmus, Budé, Pirckheimer and the great Greek scholars of Northern humanism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. And if one bears in mind the poor quality of the first translations made by such

²⁶ On Agricola jr. now see Bonorand, *Die Dediaktionsepisteln von und an Vadian*, 216-217.

²⁷ Agricola's learned friend Reuchlin, also famous as a Greek (and Hebrew) scholar, was younger. He was born in 1455 and became a *magister artium* at Basle in 1477, when Agricola was already studying and translating Greek at Ferrara. The humanist style of Agricola's translations and the choice of authors mark them off sharply from the medieval versions made by another famous translator from the Netherlands, the Dominican William from the South-Flemish Moerbeke.

men as Pirckheimer even after 1500,²⁸ one must admit that in the North Agricola was not at all an insignificant figure but a real landmark.

In order to gauge the whole extent of Agricola's acquaintance with Greek literature it is not enough to look at his translations. We must add in the first place those authors from whom he quotes fragments in the original language. I can find the following four or five:

1. Homer, *Odyssey*: two times, at Dillingen in 1479²⁹ and at Cologne in 1480³⁰ he quotes verse I 267: Ἄλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούναισι κεῖται. Of course, the mere quotation of such a general saying, which he could have borrowed easily from some formula collection, proves little. But in the first letter he explains that he wanted to stay that winter at Dillingen, if possible

ut Homerum excriberem. Scis ut sine eo Graeca studia mihi prorsus sint manca. Scriberemque si non utrumque volumen, saltem tamen Ἰλιάδα.³¹

This seems to imply that he had manuscripts of Homer at hand, and we may assume that he read them or at least parts of them. A few years later in a letter to Jacobus Barbirianus of 1 November 1482 he mentions a figure from Homer's *Iliad*, viz. Phoenix, the teacher of Achilles, expressly stating: 'Ut est apud Homerum.'³² Again, it is possible to know Phoenix without having read the *Iliad*, but in the letter Agricola seems rather keen to demonstrate his own knowledge of the poet.

2. Euripides: in a page of Greek which Agricola wrote to Reuchlin in November 1484,³³ he quotes verse 485 of the tragedy *Orestes*: βεβαθά-ρωμαι, χρόνιος ὅν ἐν βαρβάροις. Eight years earlier, in 1476, when he was still in the early stages of his Greek studies, he also quoted the same playwright, but then in Latin translation. This was in his oration *In laudem philosophiae*, where he cites six verses (814-819) from the *Hecuba*. We are left here with the puzzling problem of who made that translation. As far as I can ascertain it does not seem an ancient version, and a humanist verse translation was not yet available at that time. An older contemporary of Agricola, Pietro da Montagnana (fl. 1432-78) had made a word by word translation, which survives in a Venetian manuscript.³⁴ But Agricola's version is freer and in jambic trimeters. On the other hand, can we assume that Agricola after about one year of study was able

²⁸ See Holzberg, *Willibald Pirckheimer*.

²⁹ *Ep.* 18.

³⁰ *Ep.* 22.

³¹ *Ep.* 18.

³² *Ep.* 29.

³³ *Ep.* 41.

³⁴ See Waszink in Erasmus, *Opera omnia* (ASD) I-1, 204.

to translate Euripides on his own? Perhaps again it was a common school work.

Two further remarks must be made concerning Agricola and Euripides. First, it would not have been mere chance if he knew precisely the *Hecuba* and the *Orestes*. Many manuscripts contain only the so-called 'Byzantine trias': *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*, and Agricola probably had in hand such a manuscript. Second, there is the famous accusation against which Erasmus had to defend himself even as late as 1535, *viz.* that he had stolen his translations of the *Hecuba* and the *Iphigenia in Aulide* from unpublished manuscripts of Agricola.³⁵ In Italy especially this rumour was widespread. Now, as far as the six verses in Agricola's oration are concerned, it leaps to the eye that Erasmus' version is completely different. Still it is possible that exactly that quotation lies at the origin of this malicious slander. Agricola was highly prised and esteemed in Italy, Erasmus far less so. To suggest that Agricola, whose acquaintance with Euripides could easily be demonstrated, had in fact translated but not published the two plays, could seem acceptable to people who did not compare the texts carefully but were happy to harm Erasmus.

3. Aristophanes: the evidence is rather slim but I think sufficient to show that Agricola had seen at least something of this comic poet, who was read in the classroom often enough. In his letter to Barbirianus of 1 November 1482³⁶ he explains the meaning of the word *schola*, called in Latin *ludus*. Then he adds:

Rectius sane Graecus comicus Aristophanes, qui φροντιστήριον, id est curarum locum appellat.

The verse he has in mind is *Nubes* 94. When we remember that Aristophanes was first brought to Italy by Guarino da Verona, it is not far-fetched to suggest that Agricola had had a real opportunity to read Aristophanes at Ferrara with Guarino's son Battista.

4. Aristotle: it goes without saying that Agricola had read a good deal of the Latin Aristotle during his Arts curriculum at university. But he was clearly interested in the Greek originals too: in a letter of 22 October 1482 to Johannes de Pleningen in Rome³⁷ he insists that his friend should by all possible means buy and bring with him 'quicquid possis Aristotelis operum graece invenire'. And in the *De inventione dialectica* there are unmistakable traces of his use of the Greek Aristotle: so he criticizes the wrong but current Latin translations of ὅτι ἔστι as *quia est* and τό τι ἔστι as

³⁵ Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*, no. 3032 (ed. Allen); letter to Joh. Colet.

³⁶ *Ep.* 29.

³⁷ *Ep.* 27.

quod quid est and he is almost prepared to accept the barbarism *quidditas* as an equivalent of the second expression.³⁸ In another place he says that Cicero's word *pronuntiatum* corresponds to Aristotle's ἔρμηνεία, a rather puzzling comment, since Cicero rendered ἀξίωμα as *pronuntiatum*.³⁹

5. A Bucolic poet: in a letter written at Dillingen in the summer of 1479, the same one in which he quoted Homer's *Odyssey*,⁴⁰ he also refers to δὸν μέτερος βουκολικὸς and he cites a verse which is found twice in the Theocritean *Idylls*: at 3.20 and 27.4. However, since there is a slight textual variant, φιλήμασι in 3 and φιλάμασι in 27, and as Agricola makes use of the last reading, he seems to quote from the last piece, the so-called *Oaristus*. This is a pseudo-Theocritus; in fact, Theocritus' name was added to it only in 1516, *viz.* in the printed editions of Philippus Junta (Florence) and Zacharias Callierges (Rome). The vague formula 'our bucolic poet' suggests that Agricola did not consider Theocritus the author. On the other hand, since the *Oaristus* is found in the manuscripts along with the genuine works of Theocritus, it is not wrong to believe that Agricola had some knowledge of the authentic *Idylls*, especially since his master Battista Guarini suggests reading them together with Virgil's *Eclogues*.⁴¹

6. Quintus Smyrnaeus: few classicists today have ever read this late epigone of Homer, but Agricola apparently had. The text was discovered by Cardinal Bessarion in the famous Greek convent of S. Nicola di Casole near Otranto sometime between 1452 and 1462; hence the name *Codex Hydruntinus* for that manuscript. Soon afterwards several copies were made, even as early as 1476 in Paris. In his Greek letter to Reuchlin of 1484 Agricola quotes anonymously, speaking only of a Greek poet, verses 70-77 of book VII, which are more or less a long paraphrase of the Homeric verse he cites elsewhere. From a variant reading it would seem that Agricola knew a text close to that of the *Hydruntinus*.⁴²

This concludes the survey of Greek authors that Agricola possibly or probably read in the original. However, I believe it would not be correct to limit Agricola's knowledge and reading of Greek to only this list or worse, to the quotations only. He may, for example, not have perused the whole of Quintus or the whole of Aristophanes, but his enthusiasm for Greek suggests that he was widely read indeed in Greek literature. This does not mean of course that he understood every line, but even the best scholars in the fifteenth and following centuries could not boast that.

³⁸ DID (1539), II, ix (Alardus I, p. 228).

³⁹ DID (1539), II, viii (Alardus I, p. 221).

⁴⁰ Ep. 18.

⁴¹ Guarini, *De ordine docendi ac studendi*, 60, line 22.

⁴² Ep. 41; in verse 77, Agricola reads πνοιὴ with codex H against the variant πνοῆ.

The picture of Agricola's knowledge can be drawn even more completely using the authors which he quoted only in Latin. We can be sure that in many cases Latin was preferred not because Agricola had read the author only in translation but rather because his readers were ignorant of Greek. The additions to our preceding survey are both interesting and important. First, there is one more poet: Hesiod. Agricola inserts verse 287 from the *Opera et Dies* in his *De inventione dialectica*:

Vitia vero et vilia ad manum sint et, ut inquit Hesiodus, cumulo liceat accipere,⁴³

which reproduces freely: Τὴν μὲν τοι κακότητα καὶ ἵλαδὸν ἔστι ἐλέσθαι. I am not familiar enough with the fortune of Hesiod before the *editio princeps* of 1495, but Agricola's knowledge probably derives, again, from his studies in Ferrara. From about 1450 on Hesiod is known there, because at that time the poet Basinius († 1457) demonstrates a knowledge of the *Opera et Dies*, and we know that he studied Greek with Gaza at Ferrara from about 1446 onwards. Furthermore, Battista Guarini also cites Hesiod's *Opera* in the translation of his father and recommends a comparative study with Virgil's *Georgics*.⁴⁴ Greek historiography is well represented by Thucydides and Diogenes Laertius. Thucydides is mentioned twice in the *De inventione dialectica*: there is both a reference to Pericles' famous speech in honour of the Athenians killed in action⁴⁵ and a vaguer statement about 'Thucydidis nonnulla contra communem sensum opinionemque dicta' in the chapter on the much debated question of whether a philosopher should marry or not.⁴⁶ Thucydides is also explicitly mentioned along with Demosthenes and Isocrates among the books Agricola had with him in Groningen.⁴⁷ It is difficult to say whether Agricola had read Thucydides in Greek or in the Latin translation of L. Valla. One must not forget that the Greek historian is often very difficult to understand, as even Cicero admitted. Valla himself confessed that the speeches were laborious and that he definitely needed the help of Greek scholars to translate them.⁴⁸ Can Agricola's Greek have been better than Valla's?

As may be expected, Agricola read a great deal of Plutarch, both the *Lives* and – perhaps to a lesser extent – the *Moralia*; a reference to the

⁴³ DID (1539) I.xv (Alardus I, p. 85).

⁴⁴ Guarini, *De ordine docendi ac studendi*, 84, lines 25-28.

⁴⁵ DID (1539) II, xiii (Alardus I, p. 245).

⁴⁶ DID (1539) II, xxix (Alardus I, p. 371).

⁴⁷ *Ep.* 22.

⁴⁸ See Letter 44 in Valla, *Epistole*, 345, lines 23-31.

latter occurs in the *De inventione dialectica*.⁴⁹ In his *Notes* to Cicero's speech *Pro lege Manilia* Agricola quotes repeatedly from the *Lives* of Pompeius, Crassus and Lucullus; and that he knew the *Life* of Aristides is apparent in the *De inventione dialectica*;⁵⁰ his knowledge of the *Life* of Phocion appears from a letter written at Pavia in July 1469.⁵¹ Since Agricola did not yet know Greek at that time, we can be positive that he had read the *Lives* in Latin translation. Interestingly, he compares Plutarch's information with that of the twelfth book of the *Roman History* of Appianus⁵² (the Alardus edition generally prints the name as Oppianus!). This *History* had been translated into Latin for Nicholas V in 1452 by Petrus Candidus Decembrius, and since the Latin text had been printed at Venice in 1472 and 1477, it is quite possible that Agricola knew Appianus from that edition. Unfortunately, I cannot say more at this time because I did not examine Decembrius' text.

His *De inventione dialectica* and his *Commentary* on that part of Seneca *Rhetor* which was known at the time gave Agricola several opportunities to mention various Greek orators and rhetoricians: Isocrates and his *Praise of Helen*,⁵³ Demosthenes and Aeschines,⁵⁴ Demetrius of Phaleron (explicit quotation in his letter *De formando studio*,⁵⁵ and from the imperial authors, excluding more *Dialogues*⁵⁶ and the *Verae Historiae*⁵⁷ of Lucian, Aelius Aristides, *Oratio* 16 (Ulysses exhorting Achilles to reconcile himself with Agamemnon)⁵⁸ and *Oratio* 25 (to the Rhodians after an earthquake)⁵⁹, Libanius⁶⁰ and Themistius.⁶¹ The future editor of *De inventione dialectica* will have to decide which of these texts Agricola knew in translation and which he did not. Philosophy is well represented also. Agricola makes much of Aristotle (*De inventione dialectica, passim*) and adduces Porphyry's *Isagoge*,⁶² which he probably knew from his years as an Arts student. Plato is praised in general for the lively figures of his *Dialogues*:

⁴⁹ DID (1539) II.iv (Alardus I, p. 198); the reference is to *Moralia* 748A (= *Quaestiones convivales* IX.15).

⁵⁰ DID (1539) III.iii (Alardus I, p. 390).

⁵¹ *Ep.* 1.

⁵² *Scholia in orationem Pro lege Manilia* (Alardus I, p. 462).

⁵³ DID (1539) III.iii (Alardus I, p. 389).

⁵⁴ DID (1539) I.xxv (Alardus I, p. 145).

⁵⁵ *Ep.* 38 (Alardus II, pp. 199-200).

⁵⁶ DID (1539) III.iv (Alardus I, p. 395).

⁵⁷ DID (1539) II.ii (Alardus I, pp. 192-193).

⁵⁸ *Comm. in Sen. declam.* (Alardus II, p. 107).

⁵⁹ DID (1539) II.xiii (Alardus I, p. 245).

⁶⁰ See n. 58.

⁶¹ DID (1539) I.iii (Alardus I, p. 15).

⁶² DID (1539) I.viii (Alardus I, p. 50).

Est apud Platonem videre tam diligenter effectas disserentes personas, ut non Platonis, sed personae, non verba audire, sed vultus intueri videaris.⁶³

The *Timaeus* is quoted in the Life of Petrarch, but as far as Greek is concerned, this work proves little, since it is exactly that text of Plato which remained known throughout the Middle Ages in several ancient Latin versions.

Finally we must not forget that Agricola mentions several technical authors: Hippocrates and his *Apoforisms*,⁶⁴ Theophrastus and his *Historia Plantarum*,⁶⁵ and the geographer Ptolemy, whose opinion on the sources of the Nile is challenged by those of Aristotle and Juba;⁶⁶ lastly there is Hermogenes, whose *Ars rhetorica* has already been mentioned above.⁶⁷

From all this one fact emerges quite clearly: Agricola was well read in classical and imperial Greek literature, although we cannot prove in every instance whether he knew the original text or a humanist translation. In principle we can take for granted, I believe, that from the time he studied Greek on, he tried to see as many of the originals as possible. His letters show that he was always in search of Greek manuscripts. A typical passage from a letter to Adolphus Ruscus, Heidelberg, 1 October 1484, is:⁶⁸

Cupiebam ad te venire ... ut ... Graecam bibliothecam, quam audio Basileae esse, viderem.

A final point must be made with regard to the conclusions which can be drawn from the list of authors which I have compiled: in one way, that list is only minimal since it is based on chance mentions and quotations. Any new letter that turns up will possibly add one or more new names. One will have noticed, for example, the absence of the name of Xenophon. I have asked myself whether an expression in Agricola's Greek letter to Reuchlin, *viz.* ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι με τὴν ἀρετὴν, does not reflect a knowledge of ἀρετὴν ἐπαγγελλόμενος in the *Memorabilia Socratis* I ii 7. But I dare not press the point too hard.

On the one hand, therefore, my list is scanty yet on the other it may suggest too much. A quotation never proves that one knows the entire work. It is even possible that one knows only those few words from a second hand source. Let us take a clear example which concerns a Latin

⁶³ DID (1539) III.iii (Alardus I, p. 397).

⁶⁴ *Comm. in Sen. declam.* (Alardus II, p. 100).

⁶⁵ *Ep. 38 (De formando studio)* (Alardus II, p. 195).

⁶⁶ DID (1539) I.xvii (Alardus I, p. 93).

⁶⁷ DID (1539) II.viii (Alardus I, p. 222); *Comm. in Sen. declam.* (Alardus II, p. 96 (incorrectly numbered 66)).

⁶⁸ *Ep. 40.*

poet from Agricola's work. In his speech *In laudem philosophiae* Agricola cites Lucretius' *De rerum natura* II 14-16. The oration dates from Ferrara 1476, and the *editio princeps* of Lucretius, a poet hardly known in the Middle Ages, is from Brescia 1473 (?). May we jump to the conclusion that Agricola had seen that edition? Not from this quotation, because precisely the same verses are cited by Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones* I.21, a text which was widely read in the fifteenth century. Moreover, Lactantius introduces the verses with the words: 'Lucretius exclamat', which Agricola seems to echo when he says: 'Nonne merito exclamet philosophia'. Furthermore, the text in both Lactantius and Agricola begins: 'O stultas hominum mentes', whereas the *textus receptus* of Lucretius reads: 'O miseras hominum mentes'. Unfortunately, I have not yet seen the text of the *editio princeps*. Such second hand quotations may be present among Agricola's Greek sources also, but they may be very difficult to find. There remains a great deal of work indeed for future editors and commentators of our Frisian humanist.

Drawing our investigation of Agricola's Greek studies to a close, we must ask ourselves how well he knew the language. For that answer we possess two different sources. First, we have a letter to Reuchlin, the first part of which Agricola wrote in Greek, to which can be added some scattered shorter sentences in the same language. Second, there are Agricola's translations from the Greek. To pass a really competent judgment on Agricola's own Greek would be the task of a professional Greek linguist. I must, therefore, limit myself to such observations and impressions as a classicist can make who reads Greek but is not himself a specialist of Greek grammar and style. I must add also that the texts printed by Alardus are marred with errors which should probably be imputed not to Agricola but to the printer. A good example in case can be found, I think, in the notes to the *Pro lege Manilia*: 'calamitas apud Latinos fere idem est, quod aerumna apud Graecos'.⁶⁹ This makes no sense at all because 'aerumna' is as pure a Latin word as 'calamitas'. Probably Agricola wrote the Homeric αἴσιμα but was not understood by his publisher or printer. The letter to Reuchlin⁷⁰ was certainly written by a man who is able to do more than simply string together a few simple words. The sentences are fairly long and complicated yet perfectly clear. We even notice the use of a dual form: τῇ δευτέρᾳ ταῖν σοῦ ἐπιστολαῖν. I feel sure that, generally speaking, few advanced students in classical philology today would be able to write a page of Greek with similar linguistic and stylistic quality.

⁶⁹ Alardus I, p. 462.

⁷⁰ Ep. 41.

In his writings Agricola repeatedly gives Latin equivalents of Greek technical terms, referring to Cicero, Quintilian and Boethius: sometimes, however, he proposes his own interpretation and at other times he even points out that grammarians do not approve of some such equivalents, e.g.: 'Graeci οὐοῖαν, nos essentiam (si per grammaticos licet) verbum e verbo diceremus, nunc substantiam dicimus.'⁷¹ Often Agricola adds an etymological explanation: 'Pirata graecum est, dictus a πειράζομαι, id est experior.'⁷² In one case he notices the different pronunciation of the same word in Greek and Latin as a consequence of the *paenultima* rule in the last, the accent in the first language: so 'paraclétus' against παράκλητος and 'dioecésis' against διοίκησις.⁷³ Lastly, in at least one case Agricola uses a word which does not exist in classical Greek and is not found in Sophocles' Roman-Byzantine dictionary either. It seems to be a curious example of a *Rückübersetzung*. In fact, in a letter from Ferrara, 10 January 1476,⁷⁴ during an early stage of his Greek studies, he wrote: 'Travestiris (an italianism in Latin!), χορίζεις, amas, triumphas.' Now, a verb χορίζειν does not exist, the classical form being χορεύειν. But Agricola obviously had in mind a Greek looking medieval Latin verb which he mentions in his *Commentary* on Seneca: 'Saltare latine dicitur, quod hodie barbare corizare dicimus.'⁷⁵ It is immediately apparent that 'corizare/χορίζειν' is a perfect parallel to such christian verbs as 'baptizare/βαπτίζειν', 'colaphizare/κολαφίζειν', 'evangelizare/εὐαγγελίζειν' and the like.

At the end of this survey of linguistic particularities I want to mention the fact that Agricola coined a nice Greco-Latin name for his home town Groningen, *viz.* *Gauronica*: 'Ego scriba sum Gauronicae nostrae. Sic enim soleo oppidum nostrum vocare' he wrote to Adolph Occo from Cologne in October 1480.⁷⁶ I think it is a pity that the later Frisian humanists did not follow him on this point by adopting this name in their Latin works. *Groninga* may be clearer but in Latin *Gauronica* is definitely more beautiful.

Agricola's linguistic competence can be tested best by means of his translations. A number of studies has been undertaken at Louvain concerning the *Axiochus*, Isocrates, Lucian's *De columnia* and – still in progress – Aphthonius. The result of these analyses can be summarized as follows: Agricola's translations are clearly humanistic and not medieval, although they are less free than those of some of his Italian

⁷¹ DID (1539) I.xiii (Alardus I, p. 76).

⁷² *Comm. in Sen. declam.* (Alardus II, p. 113).

⁷³ *Ep.* 21 (Alardus II, p. 190).

⁷⁴ *Ep.* 7.

⁷⁵ Alardus II, p. 100.

⁷⁶ *Ep.* 22.

counterparts. He follows the Greek original faithfully but not slavishly: his Latin can be read and fully understood without a prior knowledge of the Greek wording. To a certain extent he has even polished his Latin style. It is, of course, possible to detect a number of erroneous or inaccurate translations which are due to either a failing knowledge of Greek vocabulary and expression or to the corrupt state of the text he used. He appears to have known some of his Italian predecesors but he did not copy them out and used them only as aids. The translation of Aphthonius seems to be a little bit freer than that of the other works. If one general conclusion can be drawn from his translation work, it is, I think, the following: Agricola was one of those new humanist translators to whom the new meaning of *tradicere*, used for the first time by Leonardo Bruni on 5 September 1400, can rightly be applied: he was transferring ancient Greek wisdom and literature from Greece to the Latin West and from humanist Italy to the late-scholastic transalpine world. That work and his rhetorical handbook are two solid pillars which still support the lasting fame of Agricola as a humanist who deserves to be remembered even five hundred years after his premature death.

LISA JARDINE

DISTINCTIVE DISCIPLINE:
RUDOLPH AGRICOLA'S INFLUENCE
ON METHODICAL THINKING IN THE HUMANITIES

Let me preface this paper by stating that what follows represents something of a shift in direction on the part of someone who has hitherto concerned themselves with tracing developments within Renaissance humanist dialectic, and the impact of those developments on early modern European thought.¹ In this paper I turn from my earlier preoccupation with tracing the reception, and influence upon dialectic teaching of Rudolph Agricola's *De inventione dialectica*, to a consideration of the circumstances which led to its achieving its quite remarkable curricular centrality. But the reader should not forget that whilst I shall represent those circumstances as historically complex, and suggest that the initial impact was that made by the man, Agricola, rather than specifically by his work, I remain convinced of the intrinsic originality and brilliance of the *De inventione dialectica* as a contribution to an emerging logic of plausibility.²

There is no shortage of passages one might cite as evidence of the remarkable esteem in which Agricola was held across Europe throughout the sixteenth century:

We are eagerly expecting at any moment the *Lucubrationes* of Rudolph Agricola (a truly inspired man); whenever I read his writings, I venerate and give fervent praise to that sacred and heavenly spirit. (Erasmus, 1514)³

Rudolph Agricola made this distinction in the first book of his *De inventione dialectica*, and Ramus follows him in this, to the extent that he came to rival Agricola's achievement in this art especially, whom Ramus himself was wont to rank in logical studies immediately after the ancient school of

¹ See Jardine, *Francis Bacon*, 17-65; 'The place of dialectic teaching in sixteenth-century Cambridge'; 'Humanism and the sixteenth-century Cambridge arts course'; 'Humanism and dialectic in sixteenth-century Cambridge: a preliminary investigation'; 'Lorenzo Valla and the intellectual origins of humanist dialectic'.

² See Jardine, 'Lorenzo Valla'.

³ 'Lucubrationes Rodolphi Agricolae, hominis vere diuini, iamdudum expectamus; cuius ego scripta quoties lego, toties pectus illud sacrum ac coeleste mecum adoro atque exoscular.' Desiderius Erasmus, prefatory letter to Matthias Schurer, printed in the 1514 edition of the *De copia* (fol. 2^r). Reprinted: Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum* (ed. Allen) II, 32 (no. 311).

Socratic logic (in which the practical application of that art is handled, as much as the science), and ahead of all subsequent logicians. And he used to say publicly that thanks to Agricola the true study of genuine [germana] logic had first been established in Germany [Germania], and thence, by way of its disciples and emulators, had spread throughout the whole world. (Talon/Ramus, 1569)⁴

Angelus Decembrius (at one time orator at Milan) calls [Quintilian's] *Institutio oratoria* 'mirificus' in his *De politia literaria*. This Angel(us) of his pupils, who even today is not to be despised as a Critic, comes next only after Valla. After him came Rodolphus Agricola, also a most acute Critic in his time: also a distinguished eulogist, imitator, emulator, and occasionally censurer of Quintilian. But as fair as he was frank...⁵

... No author, not even Valla, has more in common with Quintilian, either as regards material, or form or goal, than my Agricola in his *De inventione dialectica*. Therefore peruse Rodolphus along with Quintilian. (Gabriel Harvey, autograph notes, 1570s)⁶

Taking such expressions of admiration as my starting point, I begin with a contentious proposition: What the intellectual historian must find most striking about Rudolph Agricola's monumental reputation amongst sixteenth-century humanist pedagogues is the extent to which that *reputation* exceeds any detectable influence.⁷ By which I mean that if one works in

⁴ 'Hanc differentiam Rodolphus Agricola docuit 1. lib. de Inventione, quam P. Ramus sequutus est, sic ut aemulatus in hac arte in primis industriam illius viri, quem in studio logico, post antiquam illam Socratis Logorum scholam (in qua non minus usus artis, quam scientia tractabatur) omnibus postea natis Logicis anteponere solitus est, dicere palam ab uno Agricola verum germanae Logicae studium in Germania primum, tum per ejus sectatores et aemulos, toto terrarum orbe excitatum esse.' Ramus, *Dialectica A. Talaei paelectionibus illustrata*, Basle, 1569, 95: cit. N. Bruyère, *Méthode et Dialectique*, 305-6. As Bruyère points out, this edition of Talon's commentary on Ramus's *Dialectica*, revised well after Talon's death by Ramus himself during his stay at Basle, undoubtedly reproduces Ramus's own views on his works and their intellectual origins. See also Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory*, 190-1.

⁵ 'Mirificas illius institutiones appellat Angelus Decembrius, orator olim Mediolanensis, in sua ad eruditissimum Pontificem politia literaria. Proximus Vallae Criticus accedebat ille suorum Angelus, nec hac aetate contemnendus. Postea emersit Rudolphus Agricola, acerrimus etiam suo aeuo Criticus: idemq[ue] praeclarus Quintiliani et praedicator, et imitator, et aemulus, et interdum Censor. Sed tam candidus, quam liber.' Marginal annotation on the verso of the title page of Gabriel Harvey's copy of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (M. Fabii Quintiliani oratoris eloquentissimi, *Institutionum oratoriarum libri XII*, Paris, 1542, British Library C.60.1.11). I use the transcription by W. Colman, University of Ghent, to whom I express my gratitude for his generosity.

⁶ 'Nullus scriptor, ne Valla quidem, Quintiliano affinior vel materia, vel forma, vel fine, quam meus Rodolphus in de inuentione dialectica. Ergo ad Rodolphum cum Quintiliano.' Marginal note, *ibid.*, sig. Y vi^r.

⁷ On the Europe-wide dissemination of the works and reputation of Agricola, see Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, and *Ramus and Talon Inventory*, 534-58; Vasoli, *La dialettica e la retorica dell'Umanesimo*, 147-182; *Profezia e ragione, passim*. For an early, readable and reasonably accurate account of Agricola's reputation in relation to Ramus see Radouant, 'L'union de l'éloquence et de la philosophie au temps de Ramus'.

the field of humanist pedagogy and Renaissance dialectic, one is struck by the fact that the prominence, and importance as an intellectual rallying point of the name of Agricola contrast strongly with the real difficulty one has in locating the visible trace of his influence upon sixteenth-century textual theory and practice.⁸ From Erasmus's enthusiastic outburst in the preface to the 1514 edition of his *De copia*, to the adulatory remarks of the Ramist Gabriel Harvey (Professor of Rhetoric at Cambridge in the 1570s), Agricola is the object of a posthumous veneration which verges on idolatry. The question I begin to explore in this paper is, what is the actual relationship between such praise, and the detailed development in the early sixteenth century of a curricular programme for humanist education in Europe – a transforming of humanism into a liberal arts 'discipline' – one of whose figureheads Agricola became? I shall argue that in the somewhat haphazard process of 'disciplining' humanism, Rudolph Agricola's position as a landmark figure for sixteenth-century pedagogy is in part at least a historical accident. But I shall go on to suggest that the events and circumstances which placed Agricola, and in particular his *De inventione dialectica*, centre stage at a crucial moment in the history of Renaissance humanism and its transmission, ensured that characteristic (innovative) features of his pedagogic writings were destined to be of enduring importance for western European culture (tightly related as that culture is to the fortunes of the *bonae litterae* or liberal arts).⁹

Rudolph Agricola exerted a far-reaching influence during his lifetime as an inspirational teacher and as a man of moral and spiritual integrity. He was a close friend of Alexander Hegius, headmaster of Erasmus's school at Deventer, and was publicly associated by Hegius with the school's avowed purpose of forming students according to the tenets of the 'devotio moderna'; Erasmus was at the school when Agricola visited in 1484.¹⁰ Agricola's role as a 'living example' of a humanist-inspired life

⁸ I am grateful to Dr Peter Mack, University of Warwick, whose paper on Agricolan influence, delivered at the Warburg Institute, London, set me off thinking about the nature of Agricola's real and supposed influence on sixteenth-century dialectic and method. The most conveniently accessible source for surviving traces of Agricola in teaching practice and school records is still Baldwin, *William Shakspere's small Latine and Lesse Greeke*.

⁹ On the relation between the liberal arts and European culture see Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*.

¹⁰ Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship 1300-1850*, 69; Erasmus, *Opus Epistolarum* (ed. Allen) I, 106 (no. 23); for Erasmus's own reference see *Op. Epp.* (ed. Allen) I, 2 (no. 1); Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* II, 129, 253. A number of letters in the early *Rodolphi Agricolae Opuscula*, Martens, Louvain 1511 (Huisman, *Bibliography*, no. 4) show Agricola giving explicit support for a Deventer-style programme of liberal arts education; see Radouant, 'L'union de l'éloquence et de la philosophie au temps de Ramus', 184-5.

is made explicit in an early 'life' of Agricola, written by a friend. The author of another early biography, a friend of Erasmus, tells us that he was present when Hegius read out to his school, with great emotion, a letter which brought news of Agricola's death in 1485.¹¹

Agricola's early reputation necessarily depended upon personal influence and the model of his exemplary life and practice, because in fact none of his major educational works was publicly available during his lifetime (his reputation as a 'praecceptor' could hardly have been based on a rather brief and unsatisfactory period in which he was in a position to develop a 'school').¹² Comparatively early posthumous publication of his *Oratio in laudem philosophiae*, and his seminal letter *De formando studio* by Peter Gilles (with Erasmus's encouragement) gave the public a taste of his urbanity and eloquence, and a sense of him as dedicated to the framing of a rounded and morally restorative 'educatio' in the liberal arts.¹³ But as for the detail of his pedagogic 'method', Agricola's most original (and ultimately most widely read and cited) pedagogical work, the *De inventione dialectica* (c. 1480) appears initially to have been taken up by the 'methodical' school of Erasmian pedagogical humanism because it promised to provide a 'technical' treatment of eloquence (rather than for any precise understanding of its content). We find it hailed as an exemplary work of methodical humanistic practice before we find any specific indications as to the *manner* in which it is radically innovative; and not surprisingly, therefore, the ways in which it is ultimately interpreted as 'radical' have a good deal to do with prevailing humanistic pedagogic attitudes. Indeed, the story of the recovery and publication of this text makes strikingly clear the way in which prior assumptions on the part of the intellectuals and teachers consolidating Agricola's *oeuvre* after his death shaped their perception of the importance of each text recovered, and influenced its subsequent reception and interpretation (so Agricola specialists who are familiar with the story, will forgive me for re-telling it).¹⁴

¹¹ Johann von Pleningen's 'life' was written between 1490 and 1500 (ed. Pfeifer); the one by Goswinus van Halen c. 1525 (ed. Kan); cf. Allen, 'The letters', 303.

¹² See Vasoli, *La dialettica e la retorica*, 163-4; see also the letter of 1485 (c. January) to Alexander Hegius (*Ep.* 43), in which Agricola describes his experience at Heidelberg, quoted by Radouant, 'L'union de l'éloquence et de la philosophie au temps de Ramus': 'The masters and students devote their time to their customary prattling; they have only been prepared to give brief attention to my classes, to the extent that their effort is unsatisfactory and my enthusiasm has diminished correspondingly' (Radouant, 189).

¹³ *Rodolphi Agricolae Opuscula*, Martens, Louvain, 1511. See Allen, 'The letters', 304, and *passim*.

¹⁴ Actually, although the lag between Agricola's death and the appearance of his published works can be pieced together from Allen's careful account and the published letters in the 1539 *Lucubrationes*, modern scholars continue to present it as an inexplicable phenomenon.

Agricola died in Heidelberg, where he had gone to study and to teach in 1484 at the invitation of Dalberg, Bishop of Worms.¹⁵ On his death-bed he appointed an Augsburg physician, Adolphus Occo as his literary executor. All such papers and manuscripts as were in Heidelberg passed into Occo's possession, whilst others were scattered, remaining in the hands of friends and correspondents, like his devoted admirers the brothers Theoderic and Johannes von Pleningen (who put together their own manuscript collection of letters and *opuscula*).¹⁶ It took nearly forty-five years for committed disciples of Agricola's approach to teaching the liberal arts, like Erasmus himself, and Alardus of Amsterdam (who ultimately edited the works he had collected) to track down textually reliable copies of the seminal works they knew he had left in manuscript.¹⁷

Agricola was known to have left a work on humanist dialectic in three books: Erasmus included an inquiry into its whereabouts in the *Adagia* of 1508. After Agricola's death it circulated in manuscript, though it is not clear what the provenance of such manuscripts was, nor how accurate. The Von Pleningen brothers certainly possessed their own manuscript (still extant), but they may have kept it out of circulation in anticipation of producing their own edition in due course.¹⁸ In a letter to Budaeus (Budé) of 1516, Erasmus expresses regret at not having had access to the *De inventione dialectica* before the publication of his *De copia* (1512).¹⁹ In any case, the text circulating appears to have caused enough problems for some of Agricola's admirers to have been on the lookout for an intact original. When, around 1514, Jacobus Faber in Deventer announced that he possessed a complete manuscript containing six books rather than the

¹⁵ Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* II, 253-4.

¹⁶ Hartfelder, 'Unedierte Briefe'; Allen, 'The letters', 303.

¹⁷ Allen, 'The letters', 303-5.

¹⁸ Adelmann, 'Dr. Dietrich von Pleningen zu Schaubeck'. Adelmann writes (personal communication, 1977): 'Dietrich von Pleningen possessed a copy of Agricola's dialectic all the time while the north European Humanists were searching all over Europe. This copy is included in the *Cod. poet. et phil.* 4° 36 of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart. ... When Alardus Amstelredamus finally published his Cologne edition in 1539 *ad autographi fidem*, according to Alardus himself rumours were running around in Cologne, that he did not possess Agricola's own signed manuscript. Since Dietrich copied it in 1479 because Agricola's manuscript was *illegible*, I wonder if Alardus really had Agricola's own manuscript [cf. Agricola, *Ep.* 18, ed. Hartfelder, p. 19]. In the *Cod. poet. et phil.* 4° 36 Dietrich and his brother state clearly, that the contents are collected to be published in print later on. The reason why Dietrich did not come up with his possession during the search for Agricola's dialectic (he may even have had the original!) *might be*, that he wished to publish the authentic text himself.' See the catalogue of the exhibit mounted by the University Library at Groningen for the 1985 Agricola commemoration [*Expos. Cat. UBG 1985*, no. 75, p. 113].

¹⁹ Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum* (ed. Allen) II, 365 (no. 480).

familiar three, Alardus rushed to Deventer, only to find that Faber's manuscript consisted of the standard three books *De inventione dialectica*, and was, moreover, a faulty copy of the original.²⁰ Nevertheless, he negotiated a deal with Faber, and the *De inventione dialectica* was published for the first time, from this manuscript, in Louvain, in 1515.²¹ This version of the text was widely reprinted, epitomised and commented on over the next twenty years, during which time fragments of Agricola's other writings turn up in publications by other humanists associated with the northwards spread of classical learning.²²

Erasmus, however, continued to pay tribute to the Frisian humanist, and to express an interest in acquiring fair copies of Agricola's surviving works with a view to publishing a collected edition, and he kept in touch with the equally eager Alardus. On 11 November 1516 Alardus wrote to Erasmus informing him that a large collection of Agricola's papers had turned up in Amsterdam, in the possession of Pompeius Occo (who had inherited them from his uncle, Agricola's physician).²³ Unfortunately, it turned out that a visiting dignitary had borrowed the manuscript of the *De inventione dialectica* from Occo, about the time Alardus had set out on his wild-goose chase to acquire Faber's manuscript of the same work. This manuscript was finally returned to Occo in 1528, whereupon Alardus set about the business of editing and commenting it, so as to be able to publish it as a companion volume to the *Lucubrationes* which he was already in the process of preparing for the press.²⁴ Because of difficulties in finding a publisher, however, it was still not until 1539 that the two volumes appeared, by which time Erasmus himself was dead (and was himself the object of a Europe-wide posthumous pedagogic cult).²⁵

Meanwhile, Erasmus's public interest in Agricola's works, and his tributes to the great teacher's posthumous memory, meant that a readership was eagerly awaiting the opportunity to consult Agricola at

²⁰ Alardus recounts the incident in a note to Agricola's influential 'De formando studio' letter; R. Agricola, *Lucubrationes*, Cologne, 1539, 203. On Alardus himself see De Graaf, *Alardus Amstelredamus (1491-1544)*; Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*.

²¹ Alardus's name does not actually figure on this edition, which appears over the name of the more prestigious scholar Dorp. See De Graaf and Kölker's bibliographies of Alardus's works. Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory*, gives a chronological list of editions of Agricola's *De inventione dialectica* which is extremely valuable. Inevitably, however, some items in this list are plainly misdated or misplaced, if one is more familiar with the known fortunes of the various editions. Thus items i and ii should be ignored (as Ong himself suggests), while item v must be later than 1539 and is clearly related to item xlvi (1552). See now also Huismans, *Bibliography*, nos. 7-82; no. 11 is the Martens edition of 1515.

²² Allen, 'The letters'.

²³ Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum* (ed. Allen) II, 376-7 (no. 485).

²⁴ Allen, 'The letters', 308; Agricola, *Lucubrationes* (Alardus II), fol. *3^v.

²⁵ Erasmus died in 1536.

first hand.²⁶ Within months of the publication of the first (1515) edition of the *De inventione dialectica*, John Fisher wrote excitedly to Erasmus to tell him how greatly he had benefitted from reading the work, and claiming that he would have forfeited his bishopric for an opportunity to have been taught by the great man.²⁷ When Johannes Phrissemius published an edition of the 1515 *De inventione dialectica* with his own substantial commentary in 1523, the work 'took off'; this influential commented text went through nearly twenty editions in the next twenty years.²⁸ By the time the definitive 1539 version of the text appeared, with Alardus's own commentary, Agricola's dialectic treatise had already become the standard curriculum work on the subject, wherever humanism had gained a foothold in education in northern Europe.²⁹

Agricola's *De inventione dialectica*, and hence its impact beyond the circle of those he actually knew and taught, was thus already associated with his more famous disciple (or at least, admirer) Erasmus, even before it

²⁶ For Erasmus's public praise of Agricola prior to the appearance of his works see 'Quid cani et balneo' in *Adagiorum chiliades tres...* ed. Aldus Manutius, Venice 1508, no. 339, where he complains about the non-availability of the *De inventione dialectica* and other works. In the later versions (1515, 1536) this adagium (now in LB II, 166 C) retains on this subject still the same words. In the editions prior to 1508 (the first one is *Adagiorum collectanea*, Paris 1500) the adagium, then entitled 'Canis in balneo', is much shorter and does not yet contain the complaints just mentioned. At the end of the *Ciceronianus* in 1528 Erasmus printed the 'Oratio in laudem Matthiae Richili' (Huisman, *Bibliography*, no. 123) with a note to express his earnest desire that more of Agricola's work should be brought to light. For the 1514 preface to a new edition of the *De copia*, see note 3. There are repeated references in Erasmus's letters. Cf. e.g. in Allen's edition of the *Opus epistolarum*: I, p. 2 (letter no. I of 30 January 1523 to Ioannes Botzheim); I, pp. 105-106 (no. 23 of (1489?)) to Cornelius Gerard Goudanus); I, p. 414 (no. 184, of c. March 1505 to Petrus Aegidius); II, p. 350 (no. 471 of 29 September 1516 to Reuchlin); VII, p. 368 (no. 1978 of 20 March 1528 to Herman Phrysius); VII, p. 533 (no. 2073 of 12 November 1528 to Haio Cammyngha, in which Agricola is once again called 'diuinus'); I, p. 358 (no. 174 by Jacob Faber to Erasmus, published as a preface to *Alexandri Hegii ... carmina*, Deventer 1503. Faber links Erasmus's admiration for Agricola explicitly with his admiration for his own teacher Hegius in quoting from his adagium 'Canis in balneo' of 1500).

²⁷ Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum* (ed. Allen) II, 90 (no. 336).

²⁸ See Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum* (ed. Allen) VII, 368; Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory*, 540 (item ix); Huisman, *Bibliography*, no. 14. Phrissemius's commentary acknowledges that the version of the text with which he is working is corrupt.

²⁹ The text was finally located in 1528, but appeared in print in 1539. See Allen, 'The letters', 309; Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory*, 548 (item xxix); Huisman, *Bibliography*, no. 42. For Alardus's own account see Agricola, *Lucubrationes*, fol. +1^v. It has been suggested that Alardus's commented edition appeared earlier than this (e.g. by Cogan, 'Rudolphus Agricola and the semantic revolutions of the history of invention'; 163). It cannot have appeared before 1532: in December 1531 Erasmus writes to Goclenius that Alardus is negotiating with Frobenius for publication, but wants his fare paid to Basle! Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum* (ed. Allen) IX, 407 (no. 2587). In his first edition of the translation by Agricola of Aphthonius in 1532 he announces the two volume edition of Agricola's works as forthcoming (Allen, 'The letters', 309). Ong has no edition before 1539.

was generally available as a teaching text. When it did appear, first as a separate text, and then in a somewhat motley collection of works by Agricola, it offered a 'methodical' introduction to the liberal arts. The reader's reaction to it, and his sense of the work as part of a coherent approach to humanistic teaching, were certainly conditioned by the dense commentaries of Phrissemius and Alardus which surrounded each section or chapter. The chapter breaks themselves were apparently inserted by the two commentators, who also meticulously cross-referred amongst Agricola's known works, and between Agricola and other ancient and contemporary sources.³⁰ In Alardus's case we know that he was closely involved with Erasmian humanism throughout the period of gestation;³¹ and since Phrissemius subsequently allowed himself to be associated with Alardus's edition of Agricola's literary works we may take it that the approaches of the two men to Agricola were not out of sympathy with one another.³² In other words (as P.S. Allen long ago recognised), the recovery of Agricola's *De inventione dialectica* takes place within a cultural and intellectual context already permeated by Erasmus's distinctive brand of humanism.³³

Since Ong and Vasoli's valuable explorations of the traditions of humanist dialectic in the 1950s and 60s, a number of scholars, including myself, has worked on the diffusion of Agricola's *De inventione dialectica*. We were drawn to it by a sense that in the wholesale adoption of this work by reformers within educational institutions across Europe in the early sixteenth century must lie the key to our understanding of the crucial modifications in the *ars disserendi*, the art of discourse or discursive reasoning, which made the transition from philosophical dogmatism to discursive probabilism on the threshold of the modern age.³⁴ It has to be said, I believe, that our efforts to link Agricolan dialectic directly to

³⁰ Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory*, 534-5.

³¹ Alardus's first public association with Erasmus is in 1515 (the year of first publication of Agricola's *De inventione dialectica*), in the form of a prefatory letter by Alardus to the first edition of Erasmus's *Enchiridion militis christiani* (De Graaf, *Alardus Amstelredamus*, 16). An epigram and a dedicatory poem by Alardus appear in Erasmus's *De octo partibus orationis* (1516) and *Ratio seu methodus compendio pervenienti ad veram theologiam*, Louvain, 1518, respectively. For discussion of the extent to which Erasmus subsequently fell out with Alardus, and why, see Kölker, *Alardus Amstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*.

³² For Phrissemius's letter see Agricola, *Lucubrations*, fol. +2^v.

³³ For a further connection between the Erasmus circle and the *De inventione dialectica* see P. Mack, 'Valla's dialectic in the North: a commentary on Peter of Spain by Gerardus Listrius'.

³⁴ See Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue; Ramus and Talon Inventory*; Vasoli, *La dialettica e la retorica*; Gilbert, *Renaissance Concepts of Method*; Crescini, *Le origini del metodo analitico*; Jardine, *Francis Bacon*, 17-65; 'The place of dialectic teaching in sixteenth-century Cambridge'; 'Humanism and the sixteenth-century Cambridge arts course'; 'Humanism and dialectic'; 'Lorenzo Valla'.

specific shifts in intellectual outlook or to characteristic habits of thought were not as productive as might have been expected. Whilst it was comparatively straightforward to show how the structure, layout, and presentation of successive generations of dialectic textbooks depended upon distinctions first drawn by Agricola, and whilst the statutes and archives of European universities continue to yield evidence of a remarkable presence of explicit references to, and inventory copies of Agricola's work (or its various epitomes and paraphrases), the consequences of this for 'Renaissance thought' were not at all clearly detectable. It was Terence Heath who first suggested that all might not be quite as it seemed. In an article remarkable for its success in conveying a sense of the complexity of the ways in which curricula and teaching practice actually change, he suggested that Agricola's manual might have literally filled a gap – that is, that it might have conveniently occupied a problematic empty slot in the curriculum, left by the demise of formal and philosophical scholastic *grammar* teaching, and its replacement by humanistic descriptive (literature-oriented) grammar (the original area of humanist expertise and professional employment).³⁵

So far the story I have told in this paper accords with Heath's argument: that it was a kind of anticipatory *mystique* associated with the name of Agricola (and strongly fostered by both Erasmus and Melanchthon) which led to his treatise on dialectic becoming the 'set text' for the elementary logic course in practically every university which 'reformed' itself along humanistic teaching lines in the early years of the sixteenth century. The story of the pursuit and retrieval of Agricola's dispersed pedagogic works suggests that in the early sixteenth-century pedagogic reformers did not turn to Agricola explicitly for a tailor-made humanistic version of the curriculum study of logic and dialectic (one suspects that as in most academic institutions the detailed curriculum carried on with *ad hoc* internal modifications in spite of general shifts in outlook).³⁶ They turned to Agricola because he had been represented to them in advance as a guiding light – a beacon to light the way through the complexity of an increasingly sophisticated and proliferating body of liberal arts material, which had to be organised into a reliable programme for guiding students to intellectual and moral maturity. From the *De formando studio* to Erasmus's eulogies of his teacher Hegius's mentor and friend, the available evidence suggested that somewhere in Agricola's *oeuvre* might

³⁵ Heath, 'Logical grammar, grammatical logic, and humanism'.

³⁶ On the inertia of *curricula*, and some of its consequences for the 'growth of learning' see Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*. See also Bourdieu and Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*.

be found a suitable Ariadne's thread to lead them out of an intellectual labyrinth.³⁷

For promoters of humanist education from the 1510s onwards, the focus of their reforming energies was 'method', and 'method' was a rallying point for a new commitment to *discipline* within the liberal arts.³⁸ This practical emphasis on procedure signals a shift in intellectual focus on the part of the pedagogic reformers from the ideal end product of a classical education (the perfect orator, perfectly equipped for political life), to the classroom aids (textbooks, manuals, and teaching drills) which would compartmentalise and reduce the *bonae litterae* to system. It marks a genuinely transitional stage in the institutionalising of Renaissance humanism. In historical terms it is part of the gradual shift from humanism as the practice of an exemplary individual, to humanism as an institutionalised curriculum subject – a distinctive discipline in the arts. However awkwardly characterised by its practitioners, this trend in contemporary thinking, which takes into account the strategy for transmitting information from teacher to student as part of the 'study' with which humanism is concerned, is a fresh and lastingly influential component in the Renaissance revival of classical learning.³⁹

But if the choice of Agricola as providing the key to methodical humanism was fortuitous, the consequences of that choice were real enough. It is just that they are not necessarily to be found where a modern intellectual historian chooses to look. For the remainder of this paper I shall sketch the beginnings of an argument to suggest that it was in pursuit of a distinctive humanistic method in this *broad* sense that pedagogic reformers turned to Agricola, and that the lasting influence of Agricola upon the humanities is indeed in his provision of such a method. But I shall suggest that (Ramus notwithstanding) the impact of a peculiarly Agricolan 'method' is to be found not simply (or even, perhaps, chiefly) in the relentlessly levelling influence of topics-logic and dichotomous keying on sixteenth-century arts teaching practice, but also in the flexible, systematic appeal to 'copie' or *copia*, and in an associated, thoroughly classical, conception of a systematic training in production of

³⁷ I use these somewhat fanciful metaphors to remind the reader that a preoccupation with 'method' is not necessarily a highly *technical* matter (as Gilbert and Crescini are inclined to suggest). It may merely indicate a felt desire (conscious or not) for some missing systematic quality in an otherwise satisfactory undertaking.

³⁸ For the critical debate on Renaissance method see especially Gilbert, *Renaissance Concepts of Method*; Crescini, *Le origini del metodo analitico*.

³⁹ Gilbert treats humanist methodical teaching as one amongst a range of 'job-specific' methods (*Renaissance Concepts of Method*, chapter 3). I suggest that 'method' is more of a catch-all word in the sixteenth century, which is used whenever an author feels under pressure to provide some attempt at system.

meaning and organisation of discourse. And if this is the case, then the route to an understanding of Agricola's 'influence' must lie through Erasmus and humanistic 'letters' (*litterae*), *in conjunction with* humanistic dialectic.⁴⁰

Agricola's published *oeuvre*, in the canonical form established by Alardus in his two volume 1539 Cologne edition, comprises a series of teaching works associated with a graded programme of instruction in the liberal arts.⁴¹ The first volume consists of the *De inventione dialectica* with Alardus's comprehensive commentary, incorporating a number of schematized applications of 'Agricola's dialectical places', and concluding with a dialectical analysis of Cicero's *Pro lege Manilia*. The second volume opens with Agricola's version of Aphthonius's rhetorical *Progymnasmata*, with a commentary by Alardus which ties it tightly in with the presentation of dialectic contained in the first volume. To this Alardus appends Priscian's Latin version of Hermogenes's work of the same title, again with his own commentary, and a prefatory indication that Agricola considered the two works to belong together.⁴² The volume also contains a commentary by Agricola on excerpts from Seneca's *Declamationes*,⁴³ and a collection of Agricola's elegant and influential orations and letters, including the important essay-letter, *De formando studio* (this last – widely credited with having provided a blueprint for such 'Erasmian' features as commonplaces and notebooks, and with coining the phrase 'philosophia Christi' – is used by Alardus in his commentary to structure yet more explicitly an Agricolan programme of learning).⁴⁴

This is the definitive version of Agricolan pedagogic method, presented to the public by Alardus as the 'whole' of which the *De inventione dialectica* merely formed a part. In keeping with its acknowledged classical prototypes (Cicero, Quintilian, Seneca, Hermogenes, Aphthonius), the collection is presented as a pedagogic *practice* corresponding to a theoretical commitment to eloquence as generative of *meaning* and controlling significance, towards which the accompanying letters and prefaces

⁴⁰ I acknowledge here Terence Cave's *The Cornucopian Text* which first made me think about *copia* in Agricola.

⁴¹ As Alardus makes explicit in his prefatory letters to volume II, the *Lucubrationes*.

⁴² Agricola, *Lucubrationes* fol. L1' (= p. 75 bis).

⁴³ Although Agricola was aware that the complete Seneca *Suasoriae* and Quintilian's *Declamationes* were extant (he asks after them in a letter), his commentary is restricted to the traditional excerpts. On Seneca's *Declamationes* see Fairweather, *Seneca the Elder*. For the importance of the *declamatio* as a replacement for the scholastic disputation in humanist-inspired curricula see, e.g., McConica, 'The fate of Erasmian humanism', 43 and *passim*.

⁴⁴ See Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 70-1; Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage*, 272-4, 305.

gesture. The theoretical position does not have to be made explicit, because (as I have suggested) the editor, Alardus, had already committed himself to such an intellectual position in pursuing the publishing project (with dedication, and at some personal expense) – and his readership are (as I have also suggested) eagerly awaiting the textual remains of the teacher Erasmus regularly referred to publicly as ‘divine’ (‘quid Rodolpho Agricola diuinius?’ [*Opus epistolarum* (ed. Allen), VII, p. 533]). It is an acknowledged and understood relationship between Agricola and Erasmus which ensures that the reader already comes to his version of the *Progymnasmata* with the expectation that they play a crucial role in a humanistic scheme of learning.⁴⁵ (We, by contrast, are obliged self-consciously to reinsert the contents of Agricola’s *Opera* into their appropriate intellectual milieu, if they are to regain their pedagogic *sense*, let alone any innovative force.)⁴⁶

Aphthonius’s rhetorical exercises, the ‘progymnasmata’ occupied a crucial slot in late antique and Byzantine education.⁴⁷ They provided the classroom framework on which a student could build a developed set of rhetorical techniques, and they also apparently allowed the mature orator to ‘limber up’ and sustain his own rhetorical competence. In a letter to the grammarian Clenardus which prefaces the second volume of Agricola’s *Opera*, Alardus suggests that if one is seeking a ‘methodical’ way of instilling the precepts of rhetoric (and we might note that Alardus takes it for granted that such ‘methodical’ or ordered teaching is indeed the project in hand),⁴⁸ there is no better text with which to begin than Aphthonius’s:

In Ennius, Neoptolemus says that he must be a philosopher, but only in a few things, because he did not like the idea of being it in all ways. The same goes for us with regard to the practice of rhetoric. But nevertheless I would

⁴⁵ In his paper on Agricola’s translations from the Greek, Professor J. IJsewijn confirms my view that the translation of Aphthonius is original, and appears not to have been anticipated (see pp. 25–26 in this volume).

⁴⁶ Alardus had published Agricola’s Aphthonius as a separate volume in Cologne in 1532 (De Graaf, *Alardus Amstelredamus*, 49; Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 275; Huisman, *Bibliography*, no. 151). His prefatory address to the reader in this edition is explicit about the methodological function of the rhetorical exercises, which he says he issues in anticipation of the complete *Lucubrationes* volume.

⁴⁷ On Aphthonius see *Aphthonii Progymnasmata*. For an English translation see Nau-deau, ‘The Progymnasmata of Aphthonius in translation’. On the Byzantine tradition and Aphthonius see Kustas, *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric*, 5–26 and 85–9. For a suggestive treatment of progymnasmata and rhetorical theory see Roberts, *Biblical Epic and Rhetorical Paraphrase*. I am extremely grateful to Ian Du Quesnay for bringing this last work to my attention.

⁴⁸ We might note that Alardus’s 1518 dedicatory poem in Erasmus’s *Ratio seu methodo* already associates Alardus with a commitment to ‘method’ and methodical procedure (De Graaf, *Alardus Amstelredamus*, 20).

be most unwilling to either draw on the dregs or follow the outflow; I would want to see the sources from which everything is derived and at the same time fetch what I wanted from the fountainhead. No 'methodical' way of proceeding seemed more solid than to give first a careful edition of the rhetorical *Progymnasmata* of the Sophist Aphthonius. In translating these Rudolph Agricola gave a first specimen of his brilliance. By means of this I could provide, as it were, a ramp leading up to the more subtle precepts of rhetoric.⁴⁹

He reinforces this opinion in a further prefatory letter, this time addressed to a former pupil of his at Alkmaar, now Rector of the school, Peter Nannius, a letter both more didactic and more hortatory, as befits one penned by teacher to former student:

One can hardly express how distinguished a practitioner of the liberal arts Aphthonius the Sophist is, who attracts and entices the reader with his fitting brevity, his clarity, his orderliness, and with other synoptic aids of this kind. Who acts in the interest of the student with no less diligence than conviction, not attempting immediately to appear learned himself, but to make the reader learned. In these *Progymnasmata*, with what brilliant conciseness, with how admirable a method [ordo], with what simplicity is the whole sum of rhetoric comprehended, as if some clear image were drawn out before us.⁵⁰

The emphasis is here clearly laid on the provision of a succinct, systematic, yet comprehensive introduction to speaking and writing; an introduction which is consistent with the ideals of humanism (the desire for eloquence as identical with moral rectitude and worth), but which is structured in terms of the pragmatic matter of inculcating the requisite skills at the same time as developing the student's mind and attitudes.⁵¹

⁴⁹ 'Quemadmodu[m] enim Neoptolemus apud Enniu[m] philosophari sibi ait necesse est, sed paucis, nam omnino haud placuit: Ita & nobis quidem rhetoricari. Neq[ue] tamen uel de fece haurire uel riuulos uellem sectari, sed fontes unde omnia manant uidere, iuxtaq[ue] a capita quod optarem arcessere. Nulla certior occurrebat μεθόδικη, quam si Aphthonii Sophistae progymnasmata Rhetorica, in quibus uertendis, primum ingenii sui specimen aedidit Rodolphus Agricola uir plane diuinus primu[m] dilige[n]ter excuterem, ut hisce quasi gradum aditumue facerem ad reco[n]ditiora rhetorices praecepta' (Agricola, *Lucubrationes*, fol. *3v).

⁵⁰ 'Non potest dici quam sit insignis artifex Aphthonius Sophista, ut qui lectorem alliciat, inescetq[ue] commoda breuitate, luce, ordine, aliisq[ue] id genus epitomis: quiq[ue] non minore diligentia, quam fide discentis agit negotium, non id statim captans, ut ipse doctus appareat, sed ut lectorem doctum reddat. In hisce progymnasmatis, quam scito compe[n]dio, quam miro ordine, qua simplicitate rhetorices summam co[m]plexus est, ceu simulacro quodam nobis deliniato?' (Agricola, *Lucubrationes*, fol. A2^r). On Alardus's connections with the school at Alkmaar see De Graaf, *Alardus Amstelredamus*, 10-14.

⁵¹ It goes without saying that once Aphthonius's Greek text has been translated by Agricola into Latin, it is taken for granted that its rhetorical techniques are now to be applied to *Latin* eloquence.

Where Guarino, say, offered a model for emulation in the classroom, Agricola's *Aphthonius* is offered by Alardus as a programme, and a systematic classroom practice, available to the teacher of modest ability, and it does so in the name of an antique educational practice whose success no Renaissance teacher would contest.⁵²

In giving prominence to *Aphthonius*'s concern with *structuring* the transmission of the rhetorical skills required to produce active and influential members of the community, Agricola (and then Alardus) is associating the liberal arts with *discipline*, as an essential requirement of a self-sufficient programme of education, in a formula which was to take a firm hold throughout sixteenth-century Europe. He also follows an impeccable classical tradition, culminating in the pre-eminent (for fifteenth-century humanists) example of Quintilian, and (by implication) mature Roman education.⁵³ Roman rhetorical education modelled itself self-consciously on an ancient Greek prototype, using Greek rhetorical exercises as a framework to take the student through a meticulously graded programme in the *ars disserendi* (the art of discourse) which culminated in 'declamatio' (the declamation) – the formal lawcourt or exhibition debate on a set theme – the acme of intellectual achievement in the late Roman Empire.⁵⁴ Alardus, ardent disciple of Agricola, and mediator of Agricola on behalf of Erasmus, makes this goal explicit in his commentary. His full annotations to Agricola's *Aphthonius* open with a brief, accurate synopsis of the relation between ancient *progymnasmata* and declamation (taking Seneca as the mature example of the latter), and cross-reference Agricola's *De inventione dialectica* for a theoretical position which maintains that intellectually there is no essential difference between *display* or virtuoso declamation (the rhetorical exercise) and serious oratorical ratiocination (pleading an actual case). 'Rhetoric', as a systematic training, in other words, is to be the one core of Agricola's educational programme, because oratory (the art rhetoric teaches) is the basis of all discourse, and that means all decision-making, law-making, government and the persuasive argument which provides a valid basis for human conduct. This is Cicero's position, as it is Quintilian's. Its focus is different from that of late-medieval education in its privileging of the civic sphere: in calling his dialectical work, 'de inventione', Agricola aligns his educational approach squarely with the Roman orators, and

⁵² On Guarino's classroom practice see Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to Humanities*, chapter 1.

⁵³ For Quintilian on *progymnasmata* see Gwynn, *Roman Education*; Bonner, *Roman Declamation and Education in Ancient Rome*, chapter XXI, 'Declamation as a preparation for the lawcourts'.

⁵⁴ See Bonner, *Roman Declamation*, chapters 1 and 2.

breaks decisively with scholastic training in language use, directed as it is at the formal language-game of the academic disputation.⁵⁵ The ability to perform outstandingly in *declamatio* shows that the student has absorbed his *moral* as well as his intellectual lessons, has acquired a set of civic virtues and values as well as a set of argument techniques, and it marks a man out as having 'leadership quality' (the qualities required of a public figure).⁵⁶

That Agricola considered Aphthonius and Priscian's Hermogenes to belong together as codifying this rhetorical tradition points to the fact that Agricola is aiming self-consciously at reconstructing a late antique 'training for life'.⁵⁷ And the resulting body of texts provides a blueprint for such an emulation within the *Lucubrationes* volume. In his commentary on the prologue to Seneca's *Declamationes* Agricola identifies the ability to achieve excellence within such a rhetorical training with the period of power and greatness in Greece and Rome, and thereby highlights the humanistic aspiration to provide Renaissance Europe with an education itself as powerful and influential as that of antiquity.⁵⁸ And by virtue of Alardus's dedicated and assiduous cross-referencing of the *Lucubrationes*

⁵⁵ On the difference between medieval and humanistic conceptions of 'invention' and its relation to dialectic see Cogan, 'Rudolphus Agricola and semantic revolutions'. In his commentary on Cicero's *De Oratore*, Talaeus expresses clearly this shift in educational focus on the part of humanists: 'Nos quidem saepe monuimus eas [sc. artes] in humana uita usu quidem coniungi debere, ut quae sapienter cogitamus, ornate dicamus, praecepsis uero confundi et permisceri non debere: et tam absurdum esse si quis in rhetoriciis libris de uirtute praecipiat, quam si de figuris et dimensionibus mathematicis'. Talaeus, *M. Tullii Ciceronis De oratore ad Quintum fratrem dialogi tres, Audomari Talaei explicationibus illustrati*, 59.

⁵⁶ On the historical coincidence between an emphasis of 'declamatio', and élitism in education see Chomarat, *Grammaire et Rhétorique* II, 1001.

⁵⁷ 'The companion to Hermogenes in the rhetorical curriculum of Byzantine education is the *Progymnasmata* of Aphthonius' (Kustas, *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric*, 22).

⁵⁸ Agricola, *Lucubrationes* 96-7: 'Quia autem libri isti Declamationum inscribuntur, optimum fuerit in initio dicere paulo apertius quid sit *declamatio*. Igitur temporibus eis quo primu[m] res Atheniensium, deinde populi Romani magnae & potentes fuere, fuit & in Graecia et Romae eloquentia in summo precio & ueneratione, itaq[ue] pueri protinus in scholis instituebantur ad bene dicendum, ut quum adoleuissent, possent in iudicijs & consilijs publicis & priuatis proferre facundiam suam. Ergo quum apud grammaticos ea perceperissent quae praexercitame[n]ta uocabula[n]tur, quae apud Graecos Hermogenes, apud nos Priscianus scripta reliquit, tum ad rhetoris scholam adducebantur, proponeba[n]turq[ue] eis themata qualia his libris descripta sunt, quorum alia ficta erant, alia ex historiis aut Poetis sumebantur, qualia hodie apud Graecos Sophistas pleraque extant, ad quae themata in scholis pueri exercebant se stylo, scribe[n]do in utraq[ue] partem pro modo ingenij & eruditio[n]is su[a]e quisq[ue] quamoptime poterat. Deinde qui profectu processerant, & commodius iam poterant scribere, hi ea ipsa quae scriperant edisceba[n]t, & tum dicebant: nonnulli qui summus iam profectus erat, statim proposito themate, sine scriptura dicebant. Hoc ergo erat *declamare*, in scholis exercitationis causa dicere. Itaq[ue] *declamatio* non aliud est quam oratio scholastica, ad similitudinem forensis orationis dicta'.

volume with the *De inventione dialectica*, I believe it is fair to say that the two-volume *Opera*, as put together by Alardus, provided the early sixteenth century, in substance and in spirit, with an ancient *rhetorical* training which is, in its substantiality and thoroughness, a match for a scholastic philosophical one.

Within this rhetorical training, *copia verborum* is highlighted as playing a vital part in the systematic mastery of those skills necessary to achieve oratorical preeminence.⁵⁹ The ability to improvise and elaborate upon a passage of prose or verse by a chosen author of repute (or indeed by oneself) points the way towards a genuine command of the written and spoken language, and of the intellectual arguments which sustain practical discourse. In other words, if we read Agricola in the spirit of the Alardian reconstruction of his 'method', we are provided with a natural bridge from Agricola's *oeuvre* to Erasmus's best-selling and outstandingly influential work, the *De copia*. And in addition we are provided with a means of maintaining that in those 'rhetorical' exercises Erasmus believed he was doing more than simply demonstrating his own virtuosity and inviting virtuosity from others. He believed he was offering a *methodical* means of access to Latinity, and via Latinity to a sound intellectual grounding and a sense of values.⁶⁰

Erasmus gestured regularly towards Agricola as a source for his *De copia*. Terence Cave, amongst others, is, with some justification, anxious about the extent to which Agricola's discussion of *copia* in the *De inventione dialectica* can be said to have influenced Erasmus's treatise, since Erasmus repeatedly bewails the fact that he had no access to Agricola's manual at the time of writing.⁶¹ What I am suggesting here is that Erasmus is being both disingenuous and informative when he makes those remarks. The rhetorical training recreated in Agricola's surviving works implies the methodical prominence of *copia*, and its importance in the training of the orator. To the extent that these remnants of Agricola's resounding personal reputation capture his teaching example and practice, the *De copia* is perfectly the product of an Agricolan 'school', a school made vivid to Erasmus in the teaching and example of his own mentor Hegius. The 'methods' of the two great teachers were disseminated together, and developed side by side. By 1523, for instance, Phrissemius's commentary to the *De inventione dialectica* confidently refers the reader of III, 5 ('De

⁵⁹ Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, X.v.8. See Roberts, *Biblical Epic and Rhetorical Paraphrase*, 29. For Agricola's emphasis on *copia* see *De inventione dialectica*, Cologne, 1539, II, xxvi; III, v; vi; vii.

⁶⁰ As indicated by Agricola in, for instance, the gloss of Seneca's *Declamationes* cited above.

⁶¹ See Cave, *The Cornucopian Text*, 17-18.

copia in dicendo quomodo paretur') to Erasmus's *De copia* for a full and thorough treatment; while Alardus opens his commentary on Aphthonius's example of the penultimate exercise in the *Progymnasmata*, the 'thesis' (in which he argues the case for and against marriage), with a check-list of those of Erasmus's works in which the student will find 'everything you need to know regarding matrimony'.⁶² And this is merely to seize upon the most immediately relevant of innumerable careful editorial comments of this kind.

According to Alardus, in Agricola's Aphthonius (and the commented Seneca *Declamationes* which follow it) we have in embryo that 'discipline', that curricular version of the *bonae litterae*, which enables the humanist teacher to turn his students into model citizens and well-trained specialists, reliably and with confidence. His commentary on the *De inventione dialectica*, and the persistent cross-referencing of the works in the *Lucubrationes* volume to precise points in this work, is then used to suggest that the *De inventione dialectica* provides the programme with that manifest rigour which guarantees its intellectual and moral stringency. As Alardus explains to Clenardus (himself an educator of repute),⁶³ it is the *De inventione dialectica* which upgrades rhetorical fluency into learning:

... and then (after Aphthonius) I would peruse Agricola's matchless books on Dialectical Invention, because in that man are found the perfect or at least the indubitable ways in proceeding in any art, and because he is unrivalled in his diligence in invention, in his acuity and precision in judgement, his fullness in discourse, and his purity in explication. So that since the golden age of Cicero there has been no-one else whom we could produce as an example of the fullness of real learning, and who – as Octavius Augustus declared of the orator Vatinus – "had his wits in ready cash", except Agricola.⁶⁴

The *De inventione dialectica* provides the 'way of proceeding' with an analysis of language itself (text), where Aphthonius, Hermogenes/Priscian and Seneca provided a 'way of proceeding' in the classroom which would develop in the student the skills necessary to manipulate language eloquently and effectively (discourse).

⁶² The Phrissemius comment is cited by Cave, *The Cornucopian Text*, 17-18. For the Alardus comment see Agricola, *Lucubrationes*, 66.

⁶³ See Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* II, 158-9.

⁶⁴ 'Deinde absolutissimos Rhodolphi Agricolae de inuentione dialectica libros acutius expenderem, & ob id expenderem quod in eo uiro nullius non artis aut perfecta aut certe non dubia uestigia reperiantur, quodq[ue] nihil eo in inueniendo diligentius, nihil in iudicando acrius, aut exactius, nihil in trade[n]do plenius aut uberiorius, nihil in explicando castius aut politius, ut prorsus alterum ab aureo illo Ciceronis seculo proferre non possimus, qui omnes iustae eruditio[n]is numeros impleuerit, quiq[ue] (ut de Vatinio oratore pronunciauit Octavius Augustus) ingenium in numerato habuerit nisi Rodolphum' (Agricola, *Lucubrationes*, fol. *3^v).

As presented in the *De inventione dialectica*, the ‘method’ of Agricolan dialectic is internally organisational – it organises conveniently entirely traditional material on the *topics*.⁶⁵ So Alardus’s commitment to Agricola’s ‘method’ produced a commitment on the part of generations of humanist teachers to an ingenious set of readily transmitted routines for classifying the accumulation of matter for debating or declaiming (or composing poetry or fiction) by ‘commonplaces’. It also appears to have produced a passionate commitment on the part of educators loyal to the Agricolan tradition (like Ramus) to the view that these routines provide a pathway to truth, rather than a rhetorical technique. Grouping by headings was not in itself the invention of the methodical humanists.⁶⁶ When Agricola combined ‘grouping by headings’ as a means of ordering the fruits of one’s reading with a set of simple rules for generating propositions which could be relied on to convince any auditor, out of the contents of those *loci*, he was broadly following Boethius. But packaged by Alardus, and marketed by Erasmus, the *De inventione dialectica* swept the educational board as the *system* which would transform the by now familiar process of collection and accumulation of ‘matter’ into an understanding transcending mere fluency, and (in addition) an intellectual pathway to truth and salvation.⁶⁷

In his influential edition Alardus presented to the public the rhetorical programme of his intellectual hero Agricola, and then he offered the *De inventione dialectica* as the means of elevating ‘mere’ eloquence to meet the expectations of sixteenth-century methodical rigour. What he could not have foreseen, I suggest, was the way in which a rather basic ‘dialectical method’ would be seized upon by educators and students as *the* single solution to providing humanism with a rigorous profile.⁶⁸ Assisted by its

⁶⁵ There is, of course, much more, of considerable subtlety, in the *De inventione dialectica*. But if *codified method* is what you are looking for (which I am suggesting early readers were predisposed to do) then this is what one finds.

⁶⁶ As Robert Bolgar points out, *The Classical Heritage*, 272 and note, this was already a technique used by preachers.

⁶⁷ On the technical detail of Agricola’s topical dialectic see Jardine, *Francis Bacon*, 29–35; Cogan, ‘Rudolphus Agricola and semantic revolutions’.

⁶⁸ Although Alardus himself published an epitome (i.e. a schematized, abbreviated crib) of the *De inventione dialectica* in 1538 (Huisman, *Bibliography*, no. 35), the year before publication of his commented edition of the complete text (the epitome was reprinted in 1539 (Huisman, no. 44)). De Graaf, *Alardus Amstelredamus*, 52; Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 276, 278). And his publisher’s vigorous efforts to ‘sell’ Alardus’s other publications on the strength of the popularity of Agricola’s topical dialectic might have led Alardus to see this coming. In 1539 he reissued Alardus’s 1538 edition of Erasmus’s *Carmen Bucolicon* with the following rubric: ‘D. Erasmi Roterdami Bucolicon, Lectu digniss. cum scholijs Alardi Aemstelredami, cuius studio nunc primum & repertum & aeditum est. Locus communis de uitando pernitioso aspectu, eodem pertinens. Sacerdotum coelibatus. Mulier iuxta omneis Inventionis Dialectic[a] locos

association with Erasmian pedagogy (an association only further strengthened by Erasmus's own evasiveness on the question of *what* procedure he had in mind in his recurrent appeals to 'method' as animating the *philosophia christi*), Agricola's dialectical 'method' was adopted almost unscrutinised as the backbone of humanist 'discipline' – adopted, but (and this brings me to my conclusion) not *practised*.

We do not find convincing 'influence' of Agricolan method in Renaissance oration and dialogue, beyond a rather obvious following of 'check-lists' to ensure completeness and coverage of topics, because in the end Agricolan dialectic is used as a humanist touchstone (a symbolic text substituting for the redundant traditional logic manual), rather than consulted seriously when a writer needs to produce compelling argument. One might go further and suggest that the subtlety and ingenuity of Agricola's handling of dialectic is lost in the classroom (as it is clearly lost in the pedantic schematizing of first Phrissemius's and then Alardus's commentaries). But that elusive Agricolan 'influence' is to be found in a whole range of textual traces which testify to the fact that every sixteenth-century *tirunculus* learned to manipulate the Latin language using those Agricolan teaching texts. It can be detected in the rich, varied and remarkably pervasive use in sixteenth-century writing, from classroom exercises to Shakespeare's soliloquies, of an entire series of forms of writing (moral tale, letter of exhortation, first person declamatory speech, *vituperatio*, paraphrase, declamation) derived directly from Agricola's texts. In 1548 Edward VI of England was using Agricola's translation of Aphthonius to learn methodical Latin composition, and by 1549 he was producing full-fledged orations according to Aphthonius's schemata.⁶⁹ Or again, the worked example given in the Aphthonius/Agricola text of *Ethopoeia* or *Alloquitio* (highly emotionally-charged imagined first-person speech) is Niobe's lament for her slaughtered children (a disaster brought about by her own pride, hence additionally the source of a moral lesson). In Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Hamlet's (comparably highly wrought) lament over his mother's lack of constancy invokes the familiar exercise:

Let me not think on't – Frailty, thy name is woman –
A little month, or ere those shoes were old
With which she follow'd my poor father's body,

explicata per Alardum Aemstelredamum' (De Graaf, *Alardus Amstelredamus*, 52; Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 280). Similar rubrics ('iuxta omneis locos Rodolphi Agricolae de Inuentione dialecticae, compendio explicata') accompany his *Haeretici descriptio* (Solingen, 1539) and his *Baptismus Christianus*, Solingen, 1539 (De Graaf, *Alardus Amstelredamus*, 51-2; Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 278).

⁶⁹ Baldwin, *William Shakspere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke* I, 222-3.

Like Niobe, all tears – why, she –
 O God, a beast that wants discourse of reason
 Would have mourn'd longer – married with my uncle,
 My father's brother – but no more like my father
 Than I to Hercules. Within a month,
 Ere yet the salt of most unrighteous tears
 Had left the flushing of her galled eyes,
 She married.⁷⁰

'Like Niobe, all tears' calls upon the audience to shape their response to a familiar example which carries its own sense of artifice, contrivedness, shameless derivativeness – qualities which confirm the uncharitable judgement: 'most unrighteous tears'.⁷¹

The influence of Agricolan 'method' is to be found here in the very texture and fabric of sixteenth-century writing. Detectable in this kind of detail, it indicates a *general* commitment to ancient rhetorical *educatio*: to a curricular programme, meticulous in its detail, which develops the mind, inculcates patterns and habits of thinking, as it drills the tongue and the pen. In this direction, I suggest, is to be found the distinctive discipline and enduring influence on western european thought of Rudolph Agricola.

⁷⁰ *Hamlet*, Arden edition, ed. H. Jenkins, I.ii.146-56.

⁷¹ One might equally well have taken Hecuba's lament (Aphthonius's other example of affective *ethopoeia*), and Hamlet's 'What's Hecuba to him, or he to her, / That he should weep for her?' [II.ii.553-4]. And of course, Lucretia's distraught confession of her rape, prior to her suicide (another favourite classroom example of this exercise) finds its way into Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece* (see, for comparison, Salutati's *Declamatio Lucretiae*).

ECKHARD KESSLER

AGRICOLA UND DIE GESCHICHTE

Über ‘Agricola und die Geschichte’ kann man, wenn ich recht sehe, vor allem unter drei Prämissen sprechen, deren jede Gegenstand und Umfang der Darstellung erheblich modifiziert: Geht man davon aus, dass jeder Mensch eine oder besser seine Geschichte hat und dieses Geschichte-Haben notwendig ein Verhältnis zwischen Habendem und Gehabtem, zwischen dem Menschen und dem, was ihm geschieht, impliziert, dann fragt das Thema ‘Agricola und die Geschichte’ nach der besonderen Haltung Agricolas zu dem ihn betreffenden Geschehen, d.h. es fragt nach Agricolas Geschichtsbild.

Geht man jedoch davon aus, dass Agricola nicht irgendein Jedermann, sondern ein Humanist war, d.h. ein Verfechter und Lehrer der *studia humanitatis*, zu deren Disziplinen neben Grammatik und Rhetorik, Moralphilosophie und Poesie auch die Historie gehörte, dann fragt das Thema ‘Agricola und die Geschichte’ nach der spezifischen Funktion, die der Geschichte, der historischen Überlieferung, im Kontext von Agricolas humanistischem Bildungs- und Wissenschaftsprogramm zu kommt.

Beachtet man jedoch schliesslich, dass Agricola nicht nur ein Humanist war, von dem man eine gewisse Wertschätzung der historischen Tradition erwarten kann, sondern sich offenbar auch selbst als Verfasser historischer Werke versucht hat, dann kann das Thema ‘Agricola und die Geschichte’ auch als Frage nach Agricolas historiographischer Leistung verstanden werden.

Ich werde im Folgenden versuchen, mit dem letzten beginnend, auf alle drei Aspekte der Frage nach dem Verhältnis Agricolas zur Geschichte einzugehen, und dies weniger deshalb, weil die relativ schmale textliche Basis eine Konzentration auf nur einen dieser Aspekte nicht zuliesse, als vielmehr deshalb, weil es mir nicht möglich zu sein scheint, einen dieser Aspekte ohne gleichzeitige Berücksichtigung der anderen befriedigend zu behandeln.

Das historiographische Werk Agricolas besteht aus zwei Schriften, einer *Vita Petrarcae* und einer *Epitome historiarum*. Die Biographie Petrarcas, die nicht in die Ausgabe der *Lucubrationes* von 1539 aufgenommen wurde und erst seit den zwanziger Jahren unseres Jahrhunderts gedruckt zugänglich ist,¹ wurde während Agricolas italienischen Jahren, wohl zwischen 1473

und 1474, in Pavia verfasst und Antonio Scrovigni, dem Freund aus Pavia, gewidmet.² Ihr liegt zugrunde die Antonio da Tempo zugeschriebene italienische Lebensbeschreibung Petrarcas, die Georg Lauer seiner Edition des *Canzoniere*, Rom 1471, vorangeschickt hatte.³ Die vergleichende Analyse von Agricolas Quelle und Darstellung, die schon von Bertalot und Mommsen vorgenommen wurde und ich hier nicht im Einzelnen wiederholen muss, zeigt, dass Agricola seine italienische Quelle ins Lateinische übersetzt, mit Reflexionen allgemeiner Art durchschiesst, gelegentlich, etwa aus Anlass von Petrarcas häufigem Ortswechsel, seiner Liebe zu Laura oder seines Verzichts auf die Erfüllung dieser Liebe, mit ausführlichen, Petrarcha rechtfertigenden Digressionen unterbricht und ihr schliesslich ein abschliessendes Elogium anfügt, das Petrarcha als den Vater der wiedererwachten Studien feiert, dessen Leistung um so grösser ist, als er keinen Vorgänger hatte, und dessen Beispieldeshalb um so mehr verpflichtet.

Der moderne Historiker steht vor dieser Bearbeitung einer Quelle relativ ratlos. Zwar ist ihr Umfang auf mehr als das Dreifache gewachsen, aber sieht man von zwei zufälligen neuen Informationen zu Petrarcha ab – dass Petrarcha Silius Italicus noch nicht gekannt haben kann und dass der Adressat der *Invectiva contra Gallum* ein gewisser Johannes von Hesdin war⁴ – so lässt sich bei Agricola kein Bemühen um die Sicherung historischer Wahrheit beobachten,⁵ kein Versuch, seine Quelle, und sei es nur durch Vergleich mit Petrarcas *Epistola ad posteros*, kritisch zu prüfen.⁶ Wenn diese Biographie, so lautet das einstimmige Urteil der Forschung, einen historischen Wert hat, dann nicht als Zeugnis für Petrarcas Leben, sondern für Agricolas Petrarchabild, für seine Bewunderung des Vaters des Humanismus bis hin zur Identifikation mit ihm und für die Vorbildlichkeit, die er ihm gleichermassen als Humanist wie als Mensch zubilligte.⁷

Wenn so das erste historische Werk Agricolas, die *Vita Petrarchae*, nur mit Bedenken als historische Schrift akzeptiert werden kann und kaum

¹ Lindeboom, »Petrarca's leven beschreven door Rudolf Agricola«; Bertalot, »Rudolf Agricolas Lobrede auf Petrarcha«.

² Mommsen, »Agricola's Life of Petrarch«, 370; Bertalot, »Rudolf Agricolas Lobrede«, 383 f.

³ Bertalot, »Rudolf Agricolas Lobrede«, 401; die *Vita* ist publiziert bei Solerti, *Le vite di Dante, Petrarcha e Boccaccio*, 335-338, und Quarta, »I commentatori Quattrocentisti del Petrarcha«, 320-322.

⁴ Mommsen, »Agricola's Life of Petrarch«, 374 ff.

⁵ Bertalot, »Rudolf Agricolas Lobrede«, 400.

⁶ Mommsen, »Agricola's Life of Petrarch«, 372.

⁷ Bertalot, »Rudolf Agricolas Lobrede«, 403 f.; Mommsen, »Agricola's Life of Petrarch«, 376 ff.; Handschin, *Francesco Petrarcha*, 65 ff.

eine Aussage über Agricola als Historiker zuzulassen scheint, dann wird diese Situation durch das zweite historische Werk Agricolas zunächst noch misslicher. Denn die *Epitome historiarum* ist uns nicht erhalten. Alles, was wir über sie sagen können, beruht auf ihrer Erwähnung und Charakterisierung durch Melanchthon in seinem Brief an Alardus von Amsterdam, den dieser der Ausgabe der *Lucubrationes* von 1539 voranstellt, und auch Melanchthon hatte die *Epitome* offenbar nicht in Händen, denn er beruft sich für seine Aussage auf einen nicht genannten Gewährsmann.⁸ Agricola hatte demnach in seinem in der Heidelberger Zeit für den Pfalzgrafen Philipp verfassten Abriss der Geschichte – was Kernstück jeder mittelalterlichen Chronik war – die Abfolge der Reiche geschildert und eine Parallelisierung der jüdisch-christlichen und der griechisch-heidnischen Chronologie vorgenommen, darüber hinaus aber ausgewähltes nützliches Material – *electas materias maxime utiles* – aus griechischen Dichtern und Historikern eingefügt, die Ursachen für den politischen Wandel dargelegt und die Erzählung durch den Fürsten in vielfacher Weise ermahnende Worte – *sententias ad admonendum principem de multis partibus Reipublicae* – unterbrochen.

Die zuletzt genannten, weniger die historischen Fakten und den Verlauf der Geschichte als ihre Interpretation und ihre Nutzanwendung betreffenden Teile scheinen den Rahmen der traditionellen mittelalterlichen Chronik zu sprengen, und dieser Eindruck wird bestätigt durch die Quellen, die für die Zusätze aus der griechischen Geschichte genannt werden: Herodot, Thukydides, Xenophon und Gemistos. Sie bestätigen, dass wir bei der *Epitome* an ein Werk zu denken haben, dessen Autor seine humanistischen Wurzeln nicht verleugnet.

Aber dieser Hinweis auf die griechischen Quellen der *Epitome* scheint darüber hinaus auch ein starkes Argument dafür zu enthalten, dass die *Epitome*, von der Melanchthons Gewährsmann spricht, keine Erfindung einer verehrungsvollen Nachwelt ist, sondern in dieser oder jener Form tatsächlich existierte und vielleicht sogar wirklich von Agricola stammte.

⁸ Melanchthon, »Brief an Alardus von Amsterdam«, Alardus II, +4: »(Philippus princeps Palatinus) petivit Epitomen historiarum sibi componi. In hac audivi Rodolphum complexum esse ordine seriem imperiorum, initia, incrementa et inclinationes religionum et morum mutationes, collata etiam esse tempora Graecae historiae cum sacra. In id Compendium contraxit electas materias maxime utiles, cum ex poetis tum ex historicis Graecis, Herodoto, Thucydide, Xenophonte, Gemisto. Aspersit et inter narrandum sententias ad admonendum principem de multis partibus Rep. Id scriptum valde auxit principis et procerum studia erga ipsum, cum non modo eruditionem ipsius, sed etiam singularem prudentiam quae lucebat in illis narrationibus de causis mutationum, quae in imperiis accidentunt, admirarentur. Quare postea saepe in consilium de Rep. adhibitus est.«

Herodot, Thukydides und Xenophon, das waren, seit der Mitte des Quattrocento, die in Humanistenkreisen allgemein bekannten, bereits ins Lateinische übersetzten Kronzeugen der griechischen Geschichte,⁹ deren Erwähnung keinerlei Rückschluss, weder auf den Autor der *Epitome* noch auch überhaupt auf ihre Existenz zulässt. Hätte Melanchthon oder sein Gewährsmann sie erfinden wollen, er hätte keine naheliegenderen griechischen Quellen anführen können. Anders ist es mit der vierten Quelle, mit Gemistos, dem Byzantiner Georgios Gemistos Plethon, der während seines Florenzaufenthaltes 1436-38 den Anstoss zur dortigen Renaissance des Neuplatonismus gegeben hatte, der in seinen *Nomoi* ein politisch-religiöses Reformprogramm entworfen hatte, das nach seinem Tode den Flammen zum Opfer fiel, der sicher ein überaus einflussreicher Philosoph war, aber kein Historiker und schon gar nicht ein hinreichend bedeutender Historiker, um wie selbstverständlich in einem Atemzug mit Herodot, Thukydides and Xenophon genannt zu werden.¹⁰ Wenn dies hier, in Melanchthons Bericht, gegen alle Erwartung dennoch geschieht, dann scheint diese Erwähnung des Gemistos Plethon, gerade weil sie unwahrscheinlich ist, auf einem wahren historischen Faktum zu beruhen.

Aber was kann der Verfasser einer *Epitome historiarum* meinen, wenn er sich auf Plethon als historische Quelle beruft? Unter den nach Plethons Tod 1466 nach Rom und 1468 in die Bibliothek Bessarions gelangten Autographen des Philosophen von Mistra befand sich eine Handschrift, heute *Marcianus graecus 406*, die Bessarion in seinem Inventar als *Plethonis historica quaedam* beschreibt und die in der Tat unter anderem eine Reihe von Auszügen Plethons aus griechischen Historikern enthält, die offenbar für den eigenen Lehrbetrieb bzw. als Notizen für die eigene literarische Produktion dienten.¹¹ Wie die anderen Autographen Plethons wurde auch der *Marcianus graecus 406* wegen des grossen Rufes, in dem sein Verfasser stand, schon bald nach seiner Ankunft in Italien mit grossem Eifer ganz oder partiell kopiert und dies scheint besonders für die ersten fünf Quaternionen zu gelten, die eine vor allem aus Diodor und Plutarch zusammengestellte, Xenophons *Hellenica* fortsetzende Geschichte der Griechen von der Schlacht bei Mantinea bis zum Tode Philipps darstellen und sogar in der Ausgabe von Xenophons *Hellenica* durch Aldo Manutio, 1503, abgedruckt werden.¹²

⁹ Vgl. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage*, 278.

¹⁰ Masai, *Pléthon et le platonisme de Mistra*.

¹¹ R. et F. Masai, »L’Oeuvre de Georges Gémiste Pléthon«; Diller, »The Autographs of Georgius Gemistus Pletho«.

¹² Diller, »The Autographs of Georgius Gemistus Pletho«, 34 f.

Man kann wohl mit an Sicherheit grenzender Wahrscheinlichkeit davon ausgehen, dass der Verfasser der *Epitome historiarum* sich auf diese Geschichte Plethons beruft, und wenn dieser Verfasser Agricola gewesen ist, dann müsste er in seinen Ferrareser Jahren, in denen er als Übersetzer des *Axiochus* mit der platonischen Renaissance in Berührung gekommen ist, auch mit dem Plethon'schen Nachlass bekannt geworden sein.

Ob dies tatsächlich der Fall war, kann ich nicht sagen, aber es gibt immerhin äussere Anzeichen, die es nicht unmöglich erscheinen lassen. Im Jahre 1540, also ein Jahr nach der Veröffentlichung von Melanchthons Brief, wird in Basel die lateinische Übersetzung von Plethons Geschichte gedruckt.¹³ Der Übersetzer ist Marcus Antonius Antimachus, ein Ferrareser, der, wie er in einem einleitenden Brief erklärt, diese Übersetzung schon vor Jahren für seinen Vater gemacht hat, und das ist, wie die Datierung des anschliessend abgedruckten Widmungsschreibens besagt, im Jahre 1502. In diesem Widmungsschreiben bezieht sich der Übersetzer auf ein wenige Jahre zurückliegendes Gespräch mit seinem Vater, in dem man über die überragende Bedeutung Plethons gesprochen habe¹⁴ und in dem der Vater, Matthaeus Antimachus, sich auf seinen Lehrer, Tiphernas, als Zeugen beruft, dass Plethon auf jedem Gebiet der *litterae* Bedeutendes geleistet habe.¹⁵ Wenn ich richtig rechne, so müssten wir mit der Jugend- und Studienzeit des Matthaeus Antimachus etwa in die Ferraresischen Jahre des Agricola kommen und könnten zumindest davon ausgehen, dass Agricola in Ferrara eine an Plethon interessierte, wenn nicht für ihn begeisterte Atmosphäre vorfand, in deren Kontext eine Begegnung mit Plethons Geschichte weder von der geistigen Orientierung noch von den materiellen Bedingungen her auszuschliessen ist. Und die Tatsache, dass die bei Melanchthon so überraschende Zusammenstellung von Herodot, Thukydides und Xenophon mit Plethon bereits in dem auf 1502 datierten Widmungsschreiben des Antimachus zu finden ist,¹⁶ könnte ein weiterer Hinweis auf die Ferr-

¹³ Plethon, *De gestis Graecorum*.

¹⁴ Plethon, *De gestis Graecorum*, ββ: »multa de excellentibus Graeciae ingenii dissere-remus, Gemisti philosophi atque mathematici cognomine Plethonis quasi Platonis, a te mentio facta est. Illum dico Gemistum quem non solum Graecia, sed universus fere terrarum orbis ob variam atque multiplicem divinarum humanarumque rerum scientiam admiratus est: eo quod Platoni philosophorum principi atque Aristoteli, Graecorum et Latinorum omnium consensu proxime accederet.«

¹⁵ Plethon, *De gestis Graecorum*, ββ: »nam ex Tiferno te audire solitum dicebas, illum (sc. Gemistum) in omni scientiae genere multa literarum monumentis mandasse.«

¹⁶ Plethon, *De gestis Graecorum*, ββ2: »ut ... quantum in eo genere dicendi Gemistus excellat possit inspicere: qui mea quidem sententia verbis aptus et pressus, tanto artificio, tanta orationis lenitate ac rerum copia fertur, ut post Herodotum atque Thucydidem cum

resische Quelle dieser Zusammenstellung sein und für die Zuverlässigkeit des Melanchthon'schen Berichtes sprechen.

Insofern wir also – und damit komme ich zu unserer Frage nach dem Historiker Agricola zurück – aufgrund der Erwähnung Plethons davon ausgehen können, dass Melanchthons Bericht über eine *Epitome historiarum* aus der Feder Agricolas ein *fundamentum in re* besitzt, können wir diesen Bericht auch als eine Beschreibung der historiographischen Tätigkeit Agricolas betrachten. Agricola hätte demnach das traditionelle mittelalterliche Chronikgerüst beibehalten, aber aufgrund seiner neuen Kenntnis vor allem der griechischen Quellen ergänzt. Dies möchte als ein vernünftiges und wissenschaftlich vertretbares Verfahren erscheinen und als ein Fortschritt gegenüber der Petrarcabiographie, bei der er sich mit einer einzigen Quelle begnügte, wenn uns Melanchthons Bericht auch nur eine Andeutung dafür gäbe, dass Agricola seine gegenüber dem Mittelalter grössere Quellenkenntnis kritisch eingesetzt und zur Prüfung und Sicherung historischer Wahrheit benutzt hätte. Aber nach dem, was Melanchthon berichtet, benutzte Agricola seine griechischen Quellen, um das mittelalterliche Gerüst mit 'nützlichen Materialien' – *electas materias maxime utiles* – auszustopfen,¹⁷ um es humanistisch aufzuputzen, nicht um es zu reorganisieren oder zu befestigen. Und wir dürfen uns nicht verhehlen, dass auch die Auswahl der genannten griechischen Quellen nicht unbedingt kritische Absicht verrät: Herodot, Thukydides, Xenophon, Plethon sind keine konkurrierenden, sondern aufeinander folgende Quellen, die man als Handbuch der griechischen Geschichte lesen und ausbeuten, nicht aber vergleichendkritisch aufeinander beziehen kann.

So scheint auch die *Epitome historiarum*, wenn sie denn wirklich ein Werk des Agricola gewesen ist, den Befund der Petrarcabiographie zu bestätigen oder sogar noch zu verstärken. Wenn man in der Petrarcabiographie den Mangel an kritischem Interesse einerseits mit dem Mangel an weiteren Quellen und andererseits mit der von der modernen Forschung einstimmig unterstrichenen persönlichen Identifikation Agricolas mit dem Gegenstand seiner *Vita* entschuldigen könnte, dann wird dieser Mangel im Falle der *Epitome*, in dem ihm Quellen zur Hand sind und persönliches Engagement ausgeschlossen werden kann, unentschuldbar: oder besser, es zeigt sich, dass das Desinteresse an historischer Quellenkritik kein bedauernswerter Unfall ist, der der Entschul-

antiquissimis historiarum graecarum scriptoribus (Theopompum et Ephorum dico, seu malis Xenophontem illum, qui primus philosophorum omnium scripsit historiam) non iniuria conferendus sit«.

¹⁷ Vgl. oben, Anm. 8.

digung bedürfte, sondern offenbar vielmehr zum Programm von Agricolas Historiographie selbst gehört.

Betrachtet man den Kontext, in dem Agricola als Humanist seine historischen Werke konzipieren und verfassen konnte, dann ist dieser Befund alles andere als überraschend. Schon Petrarca, der von Agricola so hoch verehrte, hatte in der *Praefatio* zur letzten Fassung seiner *Viri illustres* eine allzu ausgedehnte Quellenkritik abgelehnt, stattdessen jenen Autoren zu folgen vorgeschlagen, die sei es die grösse Autorität sei es die grösse Wahrscheinlichkeit auf ihrer Seite hätten, und als generelles Ziel seiner Geschichtsschreibung in der Nachfolge des Livius nicht die Vermittlung historischen Wissens sondern die Bildung des Lesers zu Tugend und Handlungsfähigkeit verkündet.¹⁸ Und diese Auffassung von Wesen und Aufgabe der Geschichtsschreibung war nicht auf Petrarca beschränkt geblieben, sondern hatte sich mit der humanistischen Bewegung selbst ausgebreitet und weiterentwickelt und in Guarino Veronese, dem grossen Ferrareser Lehrer und Vater von Agricolas Lehrer im Griechischen, Baptista Guarino¹⁹ einen hervorragenden Vertreter gefunden. Er hatte, in seiner Vorrede zur Vorlesung über Valerius Maximus, vor allem den Nutzen der *Historia* für das Leben betont und sie allen anderen Gattungen der *litterae* vorgezogen, selbst der Moralphilosophie, denn was diese in subtilen aber trockenen Regeln lehre, das stelle die Geschichte unmittelbar vor Augen, so dass der Hörer oder Leser, von ihr überzeugt, ihr nachzueifern strebe.²⁰ Wenn aber dies das Ziel der Geschichte ist, dem Leser Handlungsmuster zu liefern, dann muss es auch das Ziel der Geschichtsschreibung sein, die Vergangenheit so

¹⁸ Petrarca, *De viris illustribus*, *Praefatio*, § 4 ff. »... temerariam et inutilem diligentiam eorum fugiendam putavi, qui omnium historicorum verba relegentes ne quid omnino pretermissee videantur, dum unus alteri adversatur, omnem historie sue textum nubilosus ambagibus et inenodabilibus laqueis involverunt. Ego neque pacificator historicorum neque collector omnium, sed eorum imitator, quibus vel verisimilitudo certior vel autoritas maior est... Apud me nisi ea requiruntur, que ad virtutes vel virtutum contraria trahi possunt; hic enim, nisi fallor, fructuosus historicorum finis est, illa prosequi que vel sectanda legentibus vel fugienda sunt«. Vgl. Livius, *Ab urbe condita*, *Praefatio* 10; Kessler, *Petrarca und die Geschichte*, 19 ff.

¹⁹ Nauwelaerts, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 35.

²⁰ Guarino Veronese, »Prohemium in principio lecturae Valerii«, in: Müllner, »Acht Inauguralreden«, 293: »... ex quibus illud antecellere mihi videtur, quod rerum gestarum ordinem nobis commendat, quam graece appellamus hystoriam, cum ex ea ad hominum vitam rete degendam et singularis fructus et egregia quaedam iucunditas comparari queat. videtis enim, cives optimi, quanta nobis praecepta parens illa morum et vivendi dux, phylosophia, pepererit, quae subtiliter quidem excogitata, acute tradita copioseque praecepta, cum per se explicantur, lente subeunt, segnus auditorem movent et disputatu quam factu faciliora iudicantur. ubi vero magistra praeceptorum et fida veritatis testis advenit historia, fides comparatur, studium imitationis accenditur et facilis ad ingredendum via suscipitur«.

darzustellen, dass sie als exemplarisches menschliches Handeln und nicht nur als Abfolge von Ereignissen verstanden werden kann. Der Historiker muss deshalb, wie Guarino in einem Brief über die Kunst der Geschichtsschreibung im Anschluss an Cicero erläutert, vor allem darauf achten, die Ursachen und Hintergründe des Geschehens, die in den Protagonisten liegenden Pläne und Absichten aufzudecken und durch positive oder negative Wertung hervorzuheben.²¹ Wenn wir in Melanchthons Bericht über Agricolas *Epitome* lesen, dass er ausgewähltes nützliches Material aus den griechischen Quellen aufgenommen, dass er Ermahnungen an den Fürsten eingestreut, ja dass er in der Schilderung der Ursachen politischen Wandels so viel *prudentia* bewiesen habe, dass ihn der Pfalzgraf daraufhin häufig in den Staatsrat berief, dann gewinnt man den Eindruck, Agricolas *Epitome* sei nach eben diesen Vorschriften des Guarino verfasst gewesen.²² Und wenn wir die Ergänzungen betrachten, mit denen Agricola in der *Vita Petrarcae* seine sich auf die Abfolge der Fakten in Petrarcas Leben beschränkende Quelle erweitert, dann bestehen auch sie beinahe ausnahmslos aus Vermutungen und Erklärungen über Petrarcas Beweggründe bis hin zu einer ausführlichen, sein Tun begründenden Rede Petrarcas,²³ und aus Petrarcas Tun bewertenden moralischen Erwägungen. Auch im Falle der Petrarcabiographie würde also die historiographische Leistung Agricolas durchaus den von Guarino formulierten humanistischen Forderungen und Standards für eine gute weil nützliche Geschichtsschreibung in hohem Masse genügen: der – wie er selbst einmal in rhetorischer Übertreibung sagt – am beinahe äussersten Ende der Welt geborene Germane hätte seine humanistische Lektion in Italien vorbildlich gelernt.²⁴

Und in der Tat, Agricola hat seine Lektion nicht nur gelernt, sondern er hat sie auch – und darauf beruht ein grosser Teil seines Ansehens bei Zeitgenossen und Nachwelt – seinerseits wieder propagiert und anderen zum Lernen aufgegeben. Noch in Ferrara, in seiner grossen Rede zum Lob der Philosophie, röhmt er die *Historia*, zusammen mit Dichtern und Rednern, als Realisierung der Einheit von *sapientia* und *eloquentia*, die den Menschen zu rechtem Tun führt und zum Besseren leitet,²⁵ und wenn er,

²¹ Guarino Veronese, *Epistolario*, Ep. 796: 'de historiae conscribendae forma', Bd. II, 458-465, 463; Cicero, *De or.* II, 63; Kessler, »Die Ausbildung der Theorie der Geschichtsschreibung«, bes. 35-37.

²² Vgl. oben, Anm. 8.

²³ Agricola, *Oratio de vita Petrarcae*, ed. Bertalot (1928), 387 f.

²⁴ Agricola, *Oratio in laudem philosophiae*, ed. Rupprich (1935), 165 (= Alardus II, 145): »Ego autem ad Oceanum et prope ad ultimos rerum naturae terminos natus...«

²⁵ *Ibidem*, ed. Rupprich, 174 (= Alardus II, 152): »... quae hortetur ad meliora et recte facta collaudet, pulcherrimam, honestissimam et de omni parte ingeniorum optime meritam, sive qui ipsi praedicanda fecerunt, sive qui bene facta aliorum praedicarunt:

zurückgekehrt aus Italien, im Brief *De formando studio* sein eigenes Konzept eines humanistischen Bildungsprogrammes entwickelt, dann erscheint die Geschichte wiederum, zusammen mit Dichtung und Rede, als Mittel der moralischen Bildung und Hilfswissenschaft der Moralphilosophie, da sie – ganz im Sinne von Guarino – Normen nicht lehrt, sondern in der Konkretheit des Beispiels vor Augen führt und darum um ein Vielfaches wirksamer ist.²⁶ Liest man schliesslich Agricolas Reden und Briefe, so kann man mit Befriedigung feststellen, dass er selbst, wenn er ermahnen, loben, raten will, sich des von ihm gepriesenen Mittels des historischen Beispiels durchaus gerne bedient – so wie man es von einem Humanisten erwarten darf.²⁷

Die Grenze dessen, was man von einem Humanisten in der italienischen Tradition füglich erwarten kann, überschreitet Agricola jedoch, – und damit betritt er, soweit ich sehe, wirkliches Neuland – wenn er im Rahmen seines Hauptwerkes *De inventione dialectica* die der *Historia* spezifische Form der Darstellung bestimmt und gleichsam eine Historik, eine Theorie der historischen Erzählung im Kontext der sprachlichen Äusserungsformen überhaupt entwirft.

Nachdem Agricola im ersten Buch von *De inventione dialectica* seine Theorie der Topoi entwickelt hat, definiert er im zweiten Buch zunächst das Ziel der Dialektik – über eine vorliegende Sache in überzeugender Weise zu reden: *probabiliter de re proposita dicere*²⁸ – diskutiert dann die verschiedenen Formen der *quaestio*, der Fragestellungen, die er als Materie der Dialektik bestimmt,²⁹ um schliesslich die Rede, *oratio*, als das

huic poetae nominis sui debent aeternitatem, huic historia claritudinem maiestatemque suam. Oratores hac ipsa consequuntur, ut non in praesentia solum prosint, sed ad posteros ingenii sui monumenta transmittant«.

²⁶ Ep. 38 (ad Jacobum Barbirianum = *De formando studio*), Alardus II, p. 194: »Haec autem (sc. philosophia moralis) est petenda tibi non modo a philosophis, qui literis eam tradidere, ut sunt Aristoteles, Cicero, Seneca ... sed ab historicis etiam et poetis et oratoribus. Quoniam ii et benefacta laudando et quae contra facta sint vituperando non docent quidem, sed, quod efficacissimum est, exemplis propositis, quae recte secusve fiant, velut in speculo ostendunt«.

²⁷ Man vergleiche z.B. aus den *Lucubrationes* in Alardus II: p. 118 ff. (*De nativitate sive immensa natalis diei Jesu Christi laetitia*); p. 138 ff. (*Oratio in laudem Matthiae Richili*); p. 163 ff. (*Gratulatoria oratio ... dicta Innocentio octavo Pontifici maximo*); p. 174 ff. (*Ep. ad Ant. Liberum Susatensem*) etc.; vgl. auch Agricola, *Exhortatio ad Clerum Wormatiensem*, edd. W. Spitz/A. Benjamin (1963).

²⁸ Agricola, *De inventione dialectica*, ed. J. Phrissemius, Coloniae 1528 (Reprint Hil-desheim 1976), Lib. II, cap. 3, p. 157 ff. Vgl. auch Agricola, *De inventione dialectica libri tres*, ed. Alardus Amstelredamus, Coloniae 1539 (Reprint Nieuwkoop 1967), pp. 195 ff. Zitiert wird im Folgenden nach der Ausgabe von 1528, die abweichenden Kapitelangaben sowie die Seitenzahlen der Ausgabe von 1539 werden jeweils in Klammern vermerkt.

²⁹ DID (1528), Lib. II, cap. 5-11, p. 170 ff. (1539: cap. 6-14).

Instrument der Dialektik in ihren einzelnen Arten zu untersuchen.³⁰ Das wichtigste Unterscheidungsmerkmal, nach dem die Gesamtheit aller *orationes* in zwei Gruppen eingeteilt wird, wird dabei von der angestrebten Wirkung der Rede abgenommen bzw. von der Haltung der Zuhörer, auf die der Redner, der sie überzeugen will, einzugehen hat. Entweder der Zuhörer ist prinzipiell bereit, dem Redner Glauben zu schenken, so dass dieser nur das, worüber er spricht oder was er meint, klar darstellen muss, oder der Zuhörer ist gegenüber dem Sachverhalt, von dem die Rede ist, skeptisch, so dass die Rede sich vor allem darauf konzentrieren muss, den Zuhörer zu überzeugen und ihm Zustimmung abzuringen. Im ersten Fall handelt es sich bei der Rede um eine Darstellung, *expositio*, oder Erzählung, *narratio*, im zweiten Fall dagegen um eine Argumentation, *argumentatio*, oder eine beweisende Rede, *confirmatio*.³¹

Agricola ist sich zwar sehr wohl bewusst, dass auch eine solche funktionale Differenzierung der Gattungen der Rede – nicht anders als eine rein formale Unterscheidung – in Hinblick auf die tatsächlich vorkommenden Weisen sprachlicher Äusserung nicht durchgehalten werden kann: in der Realität des Sprechens gibt es keine Argumentation ohne Darstellung des zum Beweis stehenden Sachverhaltes und keine Darstellung eines Sachverhaltes ohne Elemente argumentativer Absicherung, aber eine solche funktionale Differenzierung erlaubt doch, den generellen Charakter einer jeden Weise des Redens nach der jeweiligen Absicht, dem *institutum*, des Sprechenden zu bestimmen.³²

Die unterschiedlichen Absichten und Zielsetzungen des Sprechenden, dem die Rede als Instrument zu ihrer Realisierung entsprechen muss, sind folglich auch die Kriterien für die weitere Differenzierung der Erzählweisen. Diese Absichten sind drei: entweder der Redende will die

³⁰ DID (1528), Lib. II, cap. 12-16, p. 229 ff. (1539: cap. 15-23).

³¹ DID (1528), Lib. II, cap. 12, p. 231 f. (1539: cap. 16, p. 258): »... orationis divisionem ab orationis effectu diximus accipi. Is est, docere quoad eius fieri poterit. Qui docetur autem, aut paratus est credere, aut est orationis vi cogendus. Sic et oratio aut satis habet explicare rem, de qua dicit, cuiusmodi sit, secura fidei opinionisque eius qui audit: aut talem esse pervincere etiam retinente [sic; 1539: renitente] auditore conatur. Illud expositione fit, istud argumentatione. Omnis igitur oratio et prorsus omne quicquid dicitur aut expositio erit aut argumentatio. Expositionem priore libro diximus esse orationem, quae solam dicentis mentem explicat, nullo quo fides audienti fiat adhibito. Argumentationem vero orationem qua quis rei de qua dicit fidem facere conatur. Inter narrationem et expositionem, argumentationem item et confirmationem, nulla sane est differentia...«.

³² DID (1528), Lib. II, cap. 12, p. 233 f. (1539: cap. 16, p. 259 f): »Huius autem admonendum videtur, nonunquam in expositionem venire argumentationem et saepius in argumentationem expositionem venire.... Verum quia et inter exponendum argumentatio et inter argumentandum expositio utraque sit alterius rei accessio, transeunt in nomen quoque illius, cuius substantiae iunguntur«.

Zuhörer erfreuen, oder er will einen Sachverhalt um seiner selbst willen darstellen, oder er will einen Sachverhalt darstellen, um mit seiner Hilfe etwas anderes zu beweisen. Diese Unterscheidung der Erzählabsichten erscheint in ihrer Systematik durchaus als sinnvol und wenig überraschend. Welch innovativer Sprengstoff jedoch in ihr verborgen ist, wird deutlich, wenn Agricola sie nun mit konkreten literarischen Gattungen identifiziert: das erste ist der Dichter, das zweite der Historiker, das dritte der Redner, Philosoph oder Vertreter einer anderen *ars*.³³

Der Dichter also, den Agricola in seinem Bildungsprogramm, der humanistischen Tradition folgend, durchaus noch als Quelle der Moral beschrieben hatte,³⁴ will nicht mehr mit Horaz nützen und erfreuen,³⁵ sondern nur noch erfreuen und hat von diesem Ziel her ein völlig indifferentes Verhältnis zur Wahrheit.³⁶

Aber nicht er interessiert uns hier, sondern der Historiker. Seine zentrale Absicht ist es, eine Sache oder einen Sachverhalt so zu beschreiben, wie er tatsächlich ist, und darum ist er, als Historiker, primär an die Wahrheit gebunden.³⁷ Eine solche Wahrheitsforderung gehört seit Cicero zu den Topoi einer Theorie des Geschichtsschreibens,³⁸ aber neu ist bei Agricola, dass sie nicht von Aussen an den Historiker herangetragen wird, sondern, aus dessen Absicht entwickelt, zum Charakteristikum der literarischen Gattung wird; und diese neue Begründung der Wahrheitsforderung ist nicht ohne Folgen für das Verständnis der Geschichte.

Denn wenn die Erfüllung der Wahrheitsforderung das eigentliche und letzte Ziel des Historikers ist, dann muss die Wahrheitsforderung nicht mehr, wie bei Guarino, durch Verweis auf den Nutzen begründet werden, den der Leser nur dann aus der Geschichte ziehen kann, wenn

³³ DID (1528), Lib. II, cap. 16, p. 272 (1539: cap. 22, p. 297): »Exponimus autem fere propter has causas, vel ut audientium voluptate demulceamus aures vel ut rem ipsam cuiusmodi sit explicemus vel ut fidem alicui alii rei expositione queramus. Primum sequuntur poetae. Proximum qui monumentis rerum tradendis vel praesentes vel posteritatem conantur docere, ut qui historias et exempla virorum insignium literis mandant. At qui facienda causa fidei de re aliqua exponunt, hi sunt ut oratores, ut philosophi, ut reliqui artifices, quibus persaepe in alterius usum rei alia res verbosius est recensenda.«

³⁴ Vgl. oben, Anm. 25/26.

³⁵ Horaz, *Ars poetica* 333.

³⁶ DID (1528), Lib. II, cap. 16, p. 272 (1539: cap. 22, p. 297): »Qui enim voluptatem solam spectat audientis, dummodo eam sequatur, vera an falsa, probabilia an incredibilia dicat, nihil sua credit referre.«

³⁷ DID, *ibidem*, p. 273: »Scriptores autem rerum e contrario, primam omnium veritatem expetunt.«

³⁸ Cicero, *De oratore* II, 62: »Nam quis nescit primam esse historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat? Deinde ne quid veri non audeat?«

das in ihr dargestellte Handeln wahr ist³⁹ und es muss auch nicht, wie bei Cicero, an eine besondere moralische Haltung des Historikers appelliert werden, damit dieser nichts Unwahres sage und nichts Wahres verschweige:⁴⁰ denn welches Motiv sollte der Historiker haben, den Pfad der Wahrheit zu verlassen und seine Identität als Historiker aufzugeben?⁴¹ Ja, der Historiker wird sich nicht einmal darum bemühen, den Leser von der Wahrheit seiner Darstellung zu überzeugen, denn einerseits ist der Leser in der Regel, mangels anderer Informationen, gar nicht in der Lage, das Gesagte in Zweifel zu ziehen⁴² und andererseits kommt es nicht darauf an, dass der Leser an die Wahrheit der Darstellung glaubt, sondern dass der Historiker vor sich selbst und seinem Gewissen sicher sein kann, das, was er tun wollte – einen Sachverhalt so, wie er ist, darzustellen – auch wirklich getan zu haben.⁴³

Das Problem der Geschichte bzw. der historischen Darstellung reduziert sich deshalb für Agricola auf die Frage, wie man einen Sachverhalt wahr, d.h. sachgerecht darstellen kann, und die Regeln die er gibt, beziehen sich – sieht man von dem Hinweis ab, der Historiker solle bei der Erzählung unwahrscheinlicher Ereignisse auf seinen Charakter als der Wahrheit verbundenen Historiker verweisen⁴⁴ – auf die allgemeinen Bedingungen, unter denen die sprachliche Darstellung eines realen Sachverhaltes Wahrheitscharakter besitzt. Dazu gehören, auf der einen Seite, die mehr formalen Aspekte der logischen Nichtwiderlegbarkeit des Gesagten und seiner inneren Konsistenz und Widerspruchsfreiheit und auf der anderen Seite der strukturelle Aspekt der Anordnung and Abfolge der mitgeteilten Informationen.⁴⁵ Letzteren nimmt Agricola,

³⁹ Guarino Veronese, *Epistolario*, Bd. 2, p. 462: »Primus nanque historiae finis et unica est intentio utilitas, scilicet quae ex ipsius veritatis professione colligitur, unde animus ex praeteritorum notitia scientior fiat ad agendum...«.

⁴⁰ Vgl. oben, Anm. 38.

⁴¹ DID (1528), Lib. II, cap. 16, p. 273 (1539: cap. 22, p. 298): »nihil tale videtur, quare debeat potius velle falsa tradendo laedere existimationem suam [sic; 1539: sui], quam vera dicendo sancti gravisque viri de se opinionem ad posteros transmittere«.

⁴² DID, *ibidem*, p. 273 f.: »lectoris parum aut persaepe nihil interest sic vel sic rem esse arbitriari, praesertim si non aliunde paratum sit, quo possit vanitas scribentis coargui«.

⁴³ DID, *ibidem*, p. 273 (1539: p. 297): »Vera autem dicunt hactenus, ut sua sint conscientia contenti: neque solicite querendum putent, quomodo fiat lectori fides eorum quae recensent«.

⁴⁴ DID, *ibidem*: »Sicubi vero ponuntur aliqua facienda fidei, talia fere sunt, ut magis gravitatem auctoritatemque scriptoris commendent, quam rem probent«.

⁴⁵ DID, *ibidem* (1539: pp. 297 f.): »probabilitatis abunde est istis, rem tradi sic, ut non sit improbanda, id est, ut vera dicantur [sic]. Deinde, ne videantur falsa. Quod fit, si neque inter se dissideant, neque temporibus, personis, locis ea, quae traduntur, discrepant. Plaeraque enim vera, turbato ordine coniunctioneque rerum, incredibilia videntur, contra falsa, dispositae ut singulae inter se partes congruant, verissimorum implant fidem«.

unter ausdrücklichem Bezug auf die Wahrheitsbindung des Historikers, im 3. Buch von *De inventione dialectica* noch einmal auf und unterwirft Anordnung und Abfolge von Informationen in der historischen Darstellung der natürlichen Ordnung, dem *ordo naturalis*, gleichgültig, ob es sich um die chronologische Ordnung in der zeitlichen Folge handelt oder um die geographische Ordnung in der Schilderung räumlicher Gegebenheiten, oder um die kausale Ordnung in der Darstellung von Absichten, Plänen und Umständen, die zu einem Ereignis und dessen Folgen führen.⁴⁶

Im Kontext von *De inventione dialectica* wird, das zeigen diese Regeln, Geschichte, *Historia*, reduziert auf die Umsetzung von mittelbar oder unmittelbar erfahrener Realität in die Sprache, sie wird zum reinen sprachlichen Ausdruck dessen, was dem Menschen ausserhalb seines Geistes gegeben ist und sie ist, solange nur die formal-logischen und strukturellen Kategorien, unter denen wir Realität denken, in der Darstellung gewahrt bleiben, nicht hinterfragbar: sie ist zur Sprache gewordene Realität. Diese Geschichte belehrt nicht und will nicht nützlich sein, sie informiert den, der sich informieren lassen will, sie ist Selbstzweck und wertfrei im Sinne eines naiven, weil von historisch-kritischer Methode noch nicht berührten Positivismus. Diese Geschichte hat mit der humanistischen Geschichte aus Agricolas Bildungsprogramm ebenso wenig zu tun wie mit seinen eigenen historischen Werken, in denen er, wie wir gesehen haben, durchaus nicht nur das Ziel verfolgte, vergangenes Geschehen wertfrei abzuschildern sondern – in der *Epitome* – Lehren für politisches Handeln und – in der *Vita Petrarcae* – solche für das Leben des *litteratus* aufzuzeigen versucht.

Zwischen Theorie der Geschichtsschreibung und historiographischer Praxis tut sich daher bei Agricola ein Widerspruch auf, der unüberbrückbar erscheint und die Einheit seines Denkens sprengen würde, gäbe es bei ihm nicht – neben der Dichtung und der Geschichte – noch eine dritte Art der *expositio*: die Darstellung einer Sache oder eines Sachverhaltes nicht um seiner selbst willen, sondern mit dem Ziel, für etwas anderes *fides*, Glaubwürdigkeit und Überzeugungskraft, zu erwerben, wie man sie beim Redner, beim Philosophen und überhaupt bei den Vertretern der *artes* findet.⁴⁷ Denn diese rednerische Darstellung oder *oratio*, Rede, im

⁴⁶ DID (1528), Lib. III, cap. 7, p. 361 (1539: cap. 9, pp. 417 f.): »Historiae, cuius prima laus est veritas, naturalis tantum ordo convenit [sic; 1539: convenerit]... Nec solum erit hic ordo servandus in ratione temporum, sed etiam eo modo prioris, quo diximus causam priorem esse eventis, et reliquis etiam fere modis prioris. Nam et causae rerum consiliaque prius explicantur... Iam in locorum regionumque situ describendo, diligenter positionem eorum sequatur oportet: et orationem velut per loca circumferenti sibi, ut primum quodque occurrit, sic aptissime primum dicetur [sic; 1539: docetur]«.

⁴⁷ Vgl. oben, Anm. 33.

engeren Sinne wird von Agricola nicht nur in aller Ausführlichkeit reguliert und auf einen generellen Anwendungsbereich hin ausgelegt,⁴⁸ sondern auch so charakterisiert, dass sie dem Bild humanistischer, auf die Vermittlung moralischer Handlungsanweisungen ausgerichteter Geschichtsschreibung durchaus entspricht. Sie muss nicht nur, wie die *Historia*, wahr sein, sondern auch den Leser, der sich der durch sie vermittelten Lehre möglicher Weise zu entziehen sucht, von ihrer Wahrheit überzeugen.⁴⁹ Sie muss daher ihre Probabilität argumentativ durch Angabe der Ursachen für jeden einzelnen Entwicklungsschritt,⁵⁰ durch strenge Beachtung interner Konsistenz und Widerspruchsfreiheit⁵¹ und nahtlose Folgerichtigkeit⁵² abzusichern suchen und darüber hinaus, was, da sie nicht Selbstzweck ist, die grösste Bedeutung hat, in jedem Augenblick und in allen Stücken auf die Vermittlung und Bestärkung jenes Inhaltes ausgerichtet sein, um dessentwillen sie überhaupt unternommen wird.⁵³ Und diese Zweckorientierung beherrscht die Rede so weit, dass sogar der *ordo*, der der dargestellten Sache entsprechend im Allgemeinen ein natürlich-chronologischer sein sollte, immer wieder durch Digressionen zu unterbrechen ist, damit der letzte Zweck der Rede, das, wovon der Redner überzeugen will und wozu ihm die Darstellung der Realität dienen soll, schon im Verlauf der Darstellung ersichtlich wird.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ DID (1528), Lib. II, cap. 16, p. 274-281 (1539: cap. 22-23).

⁴⁹ DID (1528), Lib. II, cap. 16, p. 274 (1539: cap. 22, p. 298): »At in expositionibus eis, quibus fides alicui rei quaeritur, non satis est esse vera quae exponentur, sed et firma, et velut fidem sibi ipsis facientia oportet esse... Instat enim adversarius et suspecta habet omnia.«

⁵⁰ DID, *ibidem*: »Probabilis sit expositio, si sit argumentosa, si consentanea rebus, si per se consequens. Argumentosa est, quae causas habet rerum. Causas autem ut habeat, non modo summae rerum quas exponimus... Sed in singulis etiam partibus expositionis causas addimus.«

⁵¹ DID, *ibidem*: »Consentanea erit expositio si personis, locis, temporibus, rebus consentiat.«

⁵² DID, *ibidem*, p. 275 (1539: p. 299): »Consequens autem erit, non modo, si prioribus sequentia non discrepant ... sed si sic exponantur priora, ut vel ex iis quae posterius dicuntur expectentur, et propemodum auditor ipse sibi subiiciat ea, vel qualiacumque dicentur, tamen [1539: quum dicta sint tamen...] cuncta videantur ex priorum fide pendere.«

⁵³ DID (1528), Lib. II, cap. 16, p. 276 (1539: cap. 23, p. 302): »... accommodata sit ad id cui per eam paranda est fides... Formare autem apte et accommodate instituto nostro expositionem, id [1539: id est] fundamentum sedesque totius nostrae disputationis.«

⁵⁴ DID (1528), Lib. III, cap. 10, pp. 366 ff. (1539: cap. 10, pp. 423 f.): »Libera fere est etiam oratoria expositio ea, quam diximus alterius rei docendae gratia parari solere: hactenus tamen libera, ut ordo eius non ex dicentis voluptate, sed causae utilitate nascatur. Quoties tamen res ipsa non obstabit, temporum ordo ruerit aptissimus ... non nudum rerum ordinem continua narratione complectitur, sed subinde erumpit in affectus, et quibusdam, velut digressionis aut indignationis causa, ventis conturbat [1539 *aliter ab erumpit*]«.

Diese Rede im engeren Sinne entspricht, anders als die *Historia*, dem, was Agricola in seinen historischen Werken tut: In der *Epitome* hat er, wie Melanchthon berichtet, Sentenzen eingestreut, die den Fürsten zu rechtem politischen Handeln ermahnen sollten,⁵⁵ sich also nicht mit der zweckfreien Faktendarstellung zufrieden gegeben, sondern sie als Mittel zur moralischen Belehrung benutzt, und in der *Vita Petrarcae* hat er seine Quelle durch moralische Kernsätze und Erörterungen, erklärende Differenzen und Ergänzungen auf den dreifachen Umfang erweitert mit dem einzigen Ziel, Petrarca als vorbildlichen Literaten und Menschen erscheinen zu lassen, der nicht nur – so Bertalots Interpretation⁵⁶ – wert ist, in einer *laudatio* gefeiert zu werden, sondern der vor allem geeignet ist – wie das Ende der *Vita* zeigt – als Beispiel nachgeahmt zu werden und als konkreter Beweis dafür zu dienen, dass gegen alle Widerstände der Zeit die literarischen Studien wieder zu Ehren gebracht werden müssen und können.⁵⁷ Die *Vita Petrarcae* entspricht so, im Gegensatz zu ihrer im Wesentlichen die Fakten aufzählenden Quelle, in beinahe idealer Weise dem, was nach Agricolas eigener Terminologie nicht als historische, sondern als oratorische Darstellung bezeichnet werden muss, und er selbst scheint diese Zuordnung zu bestätigen, wenn er – was den modernen Interpreten im Angesicht der Vielzahl von Petrarca-Biographien unverständlich erscheint⁵⁸ – der *Vita Petrarcae* die Bemerkung vorausschickt, es sei zu bedauern, dass noch niemand das Leben und die Taten Petrarcas in einer *oratio* dargestellt habe, und für sich beansprucht, dies nun zum ersten Mal zu tun.⁵⁹ Das Vorhaben, das Agricola für seine *Vita* formuliert, wäre damit, die moralphilosophischen und bildungspolitischen Valenzen in Petrarcas Leben und Werken im Widerspruch zu der weitgehend kritischen Haltung seiner italienischen Zeitgenossen⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Vgl. oben, Anm. 8.

⁵⁶ *Oratio de vita Petrarcae*, ed. Bertalot (1928), 400.

⁵⁷ *Or. de vita Petr.*, ed. Bertalot, 398: »quis tam secors erit ... ut non idem velit, quis tam piger animo ... ut non idem speret, quis tam infelici ingenio atque natura ... ut non idem quoque possit. Annitamur modo et totis viribus, toto conatu ad praeclaras artes tendamus. Voluntatem operis honestas excitet, spem laborum industria confirmet, quum facile ut poterimus assequemur. Petrarcha quidem vindex restitutorque literarum, qui iacentibus et perpetuo oppressis situ lumen rursus novumque nitorem superfudit magno nos memorabilique docuit exemplo, quum natura nihil honestum impossibile fecerit, eundem esse sperandum optimis quem cupiendum finem.«

⁵⁸ *Or. de vita Petr.*, ed. Bertalot, 399 f.; Mommsen, »Agricola's Life of Petrarch«, 371.

⁵⁹ *Or. de vita Petr.*, ed. Bertalot, 384: »Haec reputanti mihi cum animo meo indignum videri solet in tanta clarorum in dicendo virorum copia qui nostra aetate effluerunt neminem (quod quidem sciām) res ipsius vitamque illustrasse oratione. Ego autem ... annitar tamen (utcunque vires suppetent) recensendo explicare, sicuti rudiores solent pictores, extremis lineamentis designans.«

⁶⁰ Vgl. Agricola's Auseinandersetzung mit Petrarcas Kritikern in der *Vita*, ed. Bertalot, 397 f.; dazu Mommsen, »Agricola's Life of Petrarch«, 383 f.; Handschin, *Francesco Petrarca*, 67.

für die eigene Gegenwart auszubeuten – und dies scheint ihm in der Tat gelungen zu sein.

Agricolas Theorie der Geschichtsschreibung mit ihrem Ideal einer zweckfreien, positivistischen Faktendarstellung steht daher nur, wenn man sie isoliert betrachtet, in direktem Widerspruch zur auch von Agricola vertretenen humanistischen Bildungstheorie und der auch von ihm befolgten Praxis humanistischer Historiographie. Im Kontext von Agricolas allgemeiner Theorie der *expositio*, der sprachlichen Darstellung, erweist sie sich stattdessen als Ergebnis einer Differenzierung zweier Elemente, die bisher in der humanistischen Geschichtsschreibung ungeschieden nebeneinander standen: des Elementes der letztlich nicht mehr hinterfragbaren Abhängigkeit von Fakten und Quellen, und des Elementes der freien Interpretation und Gestaltung dieses Materials zu frei wählbaren Zwecken.

Man ist versucht, diese Differenzierung als Vorwegnahme der neuzeitlichen Unterscheidung zwischen wissenschaftlicher Geschichte und historisch argumentierender Literatur zu verstehen oder gar, wenn man beachtet, dass die Geschichte nur das Beispiel darstellt, an dem diese Differenzierung verdeutlicht wird,⁶¹ als erzähltheoretisch begründete Vorwegnahme der modernen Unterscheidung zwischen reiner und angewandter Wissenschaft im Allgemeinen.

Solange eine solche Interpretation nur die Parallelität der Differenzierungskriterien feststellt, wäre sie sicher nicht verfehlt, wohl aber, wenn sie auch eine Parallelität der Wertungen unterstellt und bei Agricola einen Ansatz zur Überwindung des humanistischen nutzenorientierten Wissenschaftsmodells sehen wollte. Denn tatsächlich ist Agricola seine Differenzierung zwischen zweckfreier historischer und zweckorientierter oratorischer Darstellung von Vergangenheit, wie wir gesehen haben, nicht Anlass, allein der Wahrheit verpflichtete Geschichte zu schreiben, sondern im Gegenteil, bewusst und ausdrücklich aus der Geschichte Petrarcas eine Rede über sein Leben und über sein Tun zu machen, und ganz allgemein bedeutet diese Differenzierung nicht, dass jene Disziplinen, die allein um des Wissens und um der Erkenntnis willen betrieben werden wie die naturphilosophischen, nun bei Agricola eine Aufwertung erführen, sondern sie werden ausdrücklich auf den möglichen moralischen und technischen Nutzen hin interpretiert und bewertet.⁶²

⁶¹ Vgl. oben, Anm. 33.

⁶² Vgl. *Oratio in laudem philosophiae*, ed. Rupprich (1935), 178 (= Alardus II, 155): »Coelum enim terrasque legibus semel acceptis semper stare, nihilque nostrae indigere curae, longamque illorum inquisitionem parum nobis, illis nihil prodesse; componere autem vitam ... hoc ad nos pertinere nec quicquam tam hominis esse proprium quam res humanas pervidere«. Vgl. DID (1539), 195; Kessler, »Humanismus und Naturwissenschaft bei Rudolf Agricola«.

Der Sinn dieser bei Agricola neuen Differenzierung scheint daher nicht in einer neuen Dignität der Kontemplation und des Wissens zu liegen, sondern vielmehr in der Unterscheidung zweier Möglichkeiten des Menschen, Geschichte zu haben. Und in der Tat scheint eine solche Scheidung der historischen Realität des Menschen in zwei Pole Agricolas Denken generell zu bestimmen und den geschichtsphilosophischen Hintergrund für seine Theorie der Geschichtsschreibung abzugeben.

In einem Brief an Alexander Hegius, verfasst in Groningen unter dem Eindruck der drohenden Pest, diskutiert Agricola das Problem von göttlichem Vorherwissen und Fortuna auf der einen und freiem menschlichen Handeln auf der anderen Seite mit dem Ergebnis, dass er weder das eine noch das andere leugnet: was nach Gottes Vorherwissen geschehen wird, das wird geschehen; da der Mensch es aber weder weiss noch wissen kann, bleibt ihm nichts als nach bestem Wissen sein Leben selbst zu gestalten.⁶³

Was in diesem Brief, auf die konkrete Situation bezogen, nach aufrechter stoischer Trivialphilosophie klingt, das erhält in der Rede zum Lob der Philosophie seine eigentümliche Färbung. Auch in ihr haben wir die unausweichlichen göttlichen Ratschläge, nach denen das irdische Geschehen abläuft. Die Astronomie beansprucht sogar, sie aus der Konstellation der Gestirne erkennen zu können. Aber dieser Anspruch übersteigt das menschliche Mass: die göttliche Providenz und damit der objektive und unausweichliche Verlauf der Geschichte kann vom Menschen weder gewusst noch beeinflusst werden.⁶⁴

Wenn in dieser Hinsicht der Mensch wenn nicht einem blinden Schicksal so doch dem Schicksal blind ausgeliefert ist, so ist doch, auf der anderen Seite, des Menschen ganzes Streben darauf gerichtet, eben diesen unerkennbaren und unvorhersehbaren Schlägen des Schicksals, der Fortuna, zu entgehen: vergeblich, solange der Mensch die Dinge, den Lauf der Geschichte, selbst verändern will, erfolgreich aber mit Hilfe der Philosophie.⁶⁵

⁶³ *Ep.* 36, Alardus II, 182: »quod futurum dicitur, extra scientiam meam iacet, iacet et extra arbitrium meum: ut sit mei autem arbitrii ea eligere, per quae credam futurum illud prehendi vel vitari posse ... perveniam eo, quo et volenti et nolenti est utique pervenientum. His rationibus cum inanem repuli metum, facio tamen quae profutura puto et quantum mediocri cura diligentiaque consequi possum conor.«

⁶⁴ *Or. in laud. phil.*, ed. Rupprich, 177 (= Alardus II, 154): »Addidit etiam (sc. astronomia) ut ex ipso (sc. coelo) tanquam divinorum interprete consiliorum ventura prospiceret et gentium terrarumque paces, sterilitatem, copiam, pestes, salubritatem praenuntiaret describeretque singulis etiam ab ipso vitae initio ordinem ipsius, modum, finem, pauperum regna, regum praediceret paupertatem, ingenti certe miraque fiducia artis, ut quisquam audeat praedicere, quod is, cui dicitur, sperare non audeat, non debeat timere.«

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, ed. Rupprich, 169 f. (= Alardus II, 148): »Dat illa (sc. philosophia) propter

Die Philosophie, die nach Agricola dazu dienen soll, den Widerspruch zwischen Determinismus und Freiheit, die Wunde zwischen ohnmächtiger Unterwerfung und allmächtigem Gestaltungswunsch zu heilen, tut dies zunächst, in guter stoischer Tradition, durch Rückzug in die Innerlichkeit, durch den Hinweis darauf, dass nicht die Dinge gut oder schlecht, schrecklich oder erfreulich, sind, sondern dass es die Einstellung des Menschen ist, die die Dinge zu dem macht, als das sie uns erscheinen.⁶⁶ Aber diese Freiheit, den Dingen ihre Bedeutung für den Menschen zu geben, gilt ja nicht nur, wie die stoische Trivialphilosophie nahezulegen scheint, in einzelnen Krisensituationen, sondern sie gilt generell, so dass einerseits seit Menschengedenken die Völker dazu gezwungen waren, sich ein System von Werten und einen Ordnungsentwurf des menschlichen Lebens zu schaffen, um überhaupt überleben zu können⁶⁷ und andererseits der Mensch in jedem Augenblick sicher sein kann, dass jeder Wert überhaupt eine Schöpfung der Philosophie des Menschen ist und darum nicht vorgegeben, sondern eben dieser Philosophie unterworfen.⁶⁸

Wenn aber die Philosophie generell den Dingen ihre Qualitäten zuspricht, dann gilt dies auch für jene Qualität, die den Bereich der Erkenntnis, der kontemplativen Hinnahme der dem Menschen vorgegebenen Realität zugehört: für die Qualität der Wahrheit.

Woher weiss der Mensch, ob eine Erkenntnis wahr oder falsch ist, wenn nicht durch die Philosophie, und wo findet die Philosophie, über die hinaus der Mensch nichts kennt, das Kriterium der Wahrheit, wenn nicht in ihr selbst, der Agricola allein die letzte Autorität und Unfehlbarkeit des *ipsa dixit*, sie selbst sagt es, zuspricht?⁶⁹

quae continuis deum fatigamus votis, subicit suis legibus fortunam et quamvis ferocem
saevientemque in vacuum effundere minas cogit ... genus humanum nulla in re impensis
elaboravit quam ut imminentes casum impetus periculaque evitaret ... augemus vires
nocendi fortunae, dum ne noceat prospicimus, provocamus pericula periculis et mortis
metu ruimus in mortem».

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, ed. Rupprich, 170 (= Alardus II, 148): »Torquemini, inquit, metu malorum, non malis... etc.».

⁶⁷ Vgl. *Exhortatio ad clerum Wormatiensem*, ed. Spitz-Benjamin, 7 f.; *Or. in laud. phil.*, ed. Rupprich, 178 (= Alardus II, 155): »si necessitatis sequimur rationem, istius partis (sc. moralis philosophiae) praecipiua nobis esse curam habendam in vita, sine qua bene prospers vivere nequimus».

⁶⁸ *Or. in laud. phil.*, ed. Rupprich, 179 (= Alardus II, 158): »... credetque omnibus ipsam (sc. philosophiam) laudibus esse maiorem, ex cuius fontibus viderat omnium laudum defluere rivos ... quaecumque aut a natura ingenita sunt aut a Fortuna tributa, non nisi commendante ipsa suamque illis notam imprimente, laudantur».

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, ed. Rupprich, 179 f. (= Alardus II, 156): »nec est quod quisquam dissentiat aut repugnet, quodque de Pythagora, qui primus ipsius invenit nomen, traditur, id proprium certe est suum, ut omnis affirmatio ipsius impleat fidem sitque hoc potissimum in ea, nec ultra quisquam requirat, amplius dubitet: ipsa dixit».

Obwohl also der Mensch nicht Schöpfer der von Gott oder dem Fatum nach ewigen Gesetzen geordneten Realität ist, so ist er doch, kraft der Philosophie, Schöpfer der Wahrheit ihrer Erkenntnis bzw. Schöpfer der erkannten Realität. Wie er das sein kann, entwickelt Agricola in der Begründung seiner Toposlehre. Die Realität an sich, wie sie dem Menschen gegeben ist, besteht aus einer unermesslichen Zahl von Einzeldingen und Eigenschaften. Um über sie eine Aussage machen zu können, die, indem sie eines mit einem anderen verbindet, Wahrheit oder Falschheit konstituiert, bedarf der Mensch des verbindenden Massstabes, des Mediums oder Argumentes. Und um dieses Argument zu gewinnen, schafft er sich *capita*, Hauptgesichtspunkte, die allen oder vielen Dingen gemeinsam sind: die Topoi, die ihm jene Ordnungsstruktur darstellen, nach der er die Realität erkennt und über sie Aussagen macht.⁷⁰

Die von Gott oder dem Fatum nach unerkennbaren Gesetzen geregelte Realität ist also vom Menschen weder veränderbar noch auch in ihrer Unermesslichkeit erkennbar. Was der Mensch erkennt, das sind immer nur von ihm selbst ausgewählte Aspekte der Realität, unter denen er die gegebene Unermesslichkeit betrachtet, nach denen er den Einzeldingen Bedeutung gibt oder abspricht und sie zu einer eigenen menschlichen Ordnung zusammenfügt. Dieser menschliche Kosmos ist einerseits, insofern er wirkliche Aspekte der unermesslichen Realität verknüpft, eine Struktur, die tatsächlich in dieser Realität vorhanden ist; insofern aber diese wirkliche Struktur ausserhalb des menschlichen Geistes und der menschlichen Sprache nicht isoliert existiert, ist er immer nur ein gedachter, begrifflich formulierter und daher sprachlicher Kosmos.

In der und durch die Sprache befreit sich daher der Mensch aus der Unermesslichkeit und darum Vieldeutigkeit der vorgegebenen Realität, die ihm zum Chaos der Fortuna wird; durch die Sprache und in der Sprache entwirft er einen Kosmos, der ihm erkennbar ist, und gibt er den

⁷⁰ DID (1528), Lib. I, cap. 2, p. 6 ff. (1539: cap. 2, pp. 8 und 9): »Si qua duo itaque convenient inter se nec ne velis perspicere ... necesse est tertium aliquod invenias, quod alteri horum consentaneum esse certum [sic; 1539: certius] sit, idque alteri deinde comparatum proinde ut illi fuerit consentaneum vel dissentaneum, ita esse inter se ambo, quae proposita fuerant, sciamus. Id tertium, tum medium argumentationis dicitur, quoniam proposita velut extrema duo coniungit, tum quia probabiliter propositis iungitur, instrumentumque est facienda de illis fidei, vocatur argumentum...«. p. 8: »Res autem numero sunt immensae et proinde immensa quoque proprietas atque diversitas earum. Quo fit, ut omnia quae singulis convenient aut discrepant, sigillatim nulla oratio, nulla vis mentis humanae possit complecti... Ingeniosissimi itaque virorum, ex effusa illa rerum varietate, communia ista capita, ut substantiam, causam, eventum, quaeque reliqua mox dicemus, excerpte, ut cum ad considerandam rem quampiam animum advertissemus, sequentes ista ... duceremus inde argumentum propositis rebus accommodatum«. Vgl. Kessler (1979).

Dingen eine Bedeutung, die ihm erlaubt, in diesem Kosmos bewusst und nach eigenem Planen zu leben. Darum erklärt Agricola in seiner Rede zum Lob der Philosophie, dass die *eloquentia*, die zur Vollkommenheit entwickelte sprachliche Fähigkeit des Menschen den Menschen über die *Fortuna* hinaushebt⁷¹ und dass die Philosophie als ganze den Menschen zu sagen lehrt *vivo*, ich lebe, nicht 'ich werde gelebt' und nicht 'ich bin ein Diener des Fatums', sondern 'ich bin Herr meines eigenen Lebens'.⁷²

Die Philosophie ist darum für Agricola nicht ontologisch, sondern anthropologisch begründet. Sie ist nicht die Möglichkeit des Menschen, die gegebene Ordnung der Realität in ihrer ontologischen, moralischen und rationalen Struktur nachzuvollziehen und sich damit der Natur oder dem Fatum oder dem göttlichen Planen einzuordnen, sondern sie ist, wenn gleich von Gott gegeben, in der Natur des Menschen und seinen spezifischen Fähigkeiten des Erkennens, Überlegens und Sprechens begründet⁷³ und darum das natürliche Instrument des Menschen, um sich mit der Unermesslichkeit und der Unberechenbarkeit der Realität auseinanderzusetzen und sich seine eigene, menschliche Welt in Erkennen, Handeln und Sprechen zu schaffen.

Diese menschliche Welt ist, weil vom Menschen geschaffen, als ganze historisch: sie ist Geschichte. Sie hat eine Vergangenheit und sie hat eine Zukunft. Insofern sie Vergangenheit ist, beruht auf ihr das Realitätsverständnis der Gegenwart. Sie ist die nicht mehr zu hinterfragende Grundlage dessen, was ist. Sie fordert kein Handeln mehr, sondern ist zur Kenntnis zu nehmen. Sie ist Gegenstand des Erkenntnisvermögens und daher – als *historia* – nach den Kategorien, in denen vergangenes Geschehen gedacht werden kann, darzustellen. Insofern die menschliche Welt jedoch Zukunft ist, ist über ihre Bedeutung noch nicht entschieden und wird darum das aktive Deutungsvermögen des Menschen gefordert. Als Zukunft ist die Welt des Menschen erst zu schaffen, ist sie Gegenstand des rationalen Überlegens und der Lebensmöglichkeiten eröffnenden Wertsetzung auf der Grundlage von Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Geschichte als Zukunftsentwurf ist daher nicht *historia*, sondern *oratio*.

⁷¹ *Or. in laud. phil.*, ed. Rupprich, 174 (= Alardus II, 152): »satis fuerit dixisse tantas esse vires eloquentiae, ut non fortunis hominum corporibusque dominetur, sed ipsis affectibus et quae omnis imperii videtur impatiens, imperet voluntati«.

⁷² *Ibidem*, ed. Rupprich, 179 (= Alardus II, 156): »uno verbo dicam hoc ipsum, quod quemque dicere non pudeat: »vivo«, ipsa docente praestatur«.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, ed. Rupprich, 172 (= Alardus II, 150 f.): »Quum sint autem tria praecipue in homine, quibus reliquo animantium generi praestet ... intellectus, quo cognoscit, ratio, qua consultit, sermo, quo eloquitur, tres proinde suam cuilibet parti philosophia adhibuit disciplinas, quarum quae ad loquendum pertinet Graeci logiken, nostri rationalem, quae vitam instituit, illi ethicen, nos moralem, quae rerum naturas considerat, nos naturalem, illi physicen nominaverunt«.

Geschichte als historische Darstellung und als historische Rede stehen daher bei Agricola nicht in einem Konkurrenzverhältnis, bei dem die Aufwertung der einen die Abwertung der anderen bedeutete, sondern sie sind die beiden einander ergänzenden Pole der einen historischen Realität des Menschen: sie sichern gemeinsam die menschliche Welt, und wenn die *historia*, in ihrem Bemühen um wertfreie Faktendarstellung, das *ipsa dixit* der Philosophie betont, dann dient die historische *oratio* dem *vivo*, durch das der Mensch sich als Subjekt seiner Geschichte verstehen kann.

AGOSTINO SOTTILI

NOTIZIE PER IL SOGGIORNO IN ITALIA DI RODOLFO AGRICOLA

Il 17 dicembre 1497 ebbe luogo nella sagrestia del duomo di Pavia una modesta cerimonia. L'aggettivo modesto è giustificato dal luogo dove la cerimonia si svolse (una sagrestia) e dalla mancanza di testimoni illustri: il notaio che ha rogato l'atto registra come presenti due chierici pavesi. Il protagonista è studente in canonico, ha già ricevuto la prima tonsura, è canonico di Bourges e si chiama Ieronimus Buxleyde (*sic*). A lui vengono conferiti i quattro ordini minori da Giovanni Matteo de Privollis, suffraganeo e vicario di Ascanio Maria Sforza, cardinale, vicecancelliere di santa romana chiesa, amministratore della diocesi pavesa.¹

Un decennio prima, il 9 agosto 1487, una cerimonia meno modesta, ma rituale in una città universitaria come Pavia, interessava Claude Carondelet, Burgundus, cui veniva conferita la laurea in civile e canonico.² Gli studiosi di scienza della letteratura giustamente diffidano delle ricerche archivistiche, le quali in effetto raramente forniscono elementi utili alla costituzione del testo o alla sua interpretazione. Per quel che riguarda l'Umanesimo la situazione è tuttavia un po' diversa: la ricerca biografica è per l'età umanistica ben lontana dall'essere soltanto uno svago eruditio. Ho appena ricordato due avvenimenti che riguardano personaggi della cerchia erasmiana, due fatti rimasti sconosciuti ai biografi, ma di cui certo nessuno vorrà mettere in discussione l'importanza essendo noto il valore della sosta italiana per gli attori dell'Umanesimo europeo. Va aggiunto che i due esempi non sono stati scelti a caso: in entrambi i casi si tratta di persone provenienti dagli stati del duca di Borgogna e che sostano a Pavia.³ Orbene la terminologia universitaria italiana moderna usa volentieri le espressioni 'natio transalpina', 'natio germanica', nazione francese; parla volentieri di studenti italiani, tedeschi, greci e francesi, ignora invece l'esistenza di quell'entità politica formata dagli stati del duca di Borgogna e la necessità di dare all'aggettivo 'Burgundus' il valore politico che in effetti ha. Nella seconda metà del Quattrocento i documenti pavesi sono meno imprecisi di quanto si è portati a credere

¹ (ASP (= Archivio di Stato di Pavia), NP (= Notarile di Pavia), 1121. Il 2 giugno 1498 Busleyden assiste a lic. e dott. in can. di Thomas de Thierstein: *ibid.*, 1122.

² ASP, NP, 925; Gachard, «Claude Carondelet».

³ Si veda anche: Walsh, «The coming of Humanism in the Low Countries», 185.

quando si tratta di indicare la provenienza di non italiani: si parla molto meno di 'francigenae' e molto più di 'normandi', 'provinciales', savoiardi, ma soprattutto di 'burgundi'.

Sono note le misure prese dai duchi di Milano per incanalare verso Pavia gli 'alemanni' ed è altrettanto noto che il fenomeno ha un aspetto politico oltre che economico. Ciò premesso ritengo formulabile l'ipotesi che anche la presenza borgognona in senso lato a Pavia possa in qualche momento aver avuto un suo risvolto politico e questo proprio nel periodo della sosta nella 'urbs Ticinensis' di Rodolfo Agricola. Altrove è già stata segnalata invece la laurea lampo concessa per intervento ducale al diplomatico borgognone Johannes de Espach; va ora aggiunto che ad essa assistette il dottore in decreti Wilhelmus de Alfijn.⁴

Chi legge le biografie di Agricola si meraviglia per la relativa scarsezza di dati concreti sulle sue vicende italiane, specialmente se si pensa che queste si estesero per un decennio. Mancanza di fonti? Naturalmente laddove manca la matricola o perché andò persa o perché non si usava tenerla, sarà sempre difficile stabilire una data di immatricolazione. Piuttosto però che di mancanza di fonti converrebbe parlare di scarsa utilizzazione delle medesime e, se mai, di variare il punto di vista nel loro studio: determinate notizie assumono nel contesto della storia universitaria una rilevanza diversa da quella che esse hanno avulse da tale contesto. La prima fonte comunque che attende di essere debitamente valorizzata è formata dal complesso di 'instrumenta laureationis' conservati tra le imbreviature dei notai pavesi. Ne conosco circa mezzo migliaio e la relativa lista è stata appena stampata, ma sono convinto che ulteriori ricerche dovrebbero ampliare ancora il numero, benché possano essere andate irrimediabilmente perse le imbreviature di qualche notaio che sicuramente rogò atti universitari: nulla so ad esempio sulla sorte delle carte di Galvagno Mombretto.⁵ Per quel che riguarda il nostro contesto, le imbreviature a me note riguardano più di un personaggio dell'ambiente di Agricola (Paul de Baenst, Matheus Richilus, Johannes von Dalberg), ma purtroppo in un solo caso Agricola stesso.

Il 26 gennaio 1473 si tenne a Pavia una delle non frequenti ceremonie di laurea in teologia. L'interessato, Johannes Vredewolt,⁶ originario di Groningen, Traiectensis diocesis, liberalium artium doctor ed ovvia-

⁴ ASP, NP, 94 cc. 160r-161r; Sottili, «L'università di Pavia nella politica culturale sforzesca», 520-21. Alfijn: Villa, *La «Lectura Terentii»*, I, 228-29, 423.

⁵ Galvagno: ASP, NP, 325 c. 581r. Inoltre: Sottili, «Tunc floruit Alamannorum natio» e «Lauree pavesi nella seconda metà del Quattrocento».

⁶ ASP, NP, 93 c. 23r-v. Inoltre: Keussen, *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln* I, 610 n. 39; Wackernagel, *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel*, 115.

mente ‘sacre pagine bachalarius’ va tenuto distinto per ragioni cronologiche e di titolazione accademica da un altro Johannes Vredewolt addottoratosi in canonico a Pavia nel 1440,⁷ ma è certamente identica persona coll’omonimo corrispondente di Agricola. Ma conviene allineare gli aneddoti lentamente. L’atto di laurea ripete il formulario e questo vuole che del magistrando in teologia si indichi dove ha tenuto l’insegnamento sulle *Sentenze* obbligatorio per i baccellieri in teologia aspiranti al dottorato: «Cum itaque venerabilis et omni virtute laudandus dominus magister Johannes Vredewolt de Groningen … post actus scolasticos per eum in variis studiis feliciter consumatos, deputatus fuerit ad legendum *Sententias* in civitate et studio Colloniensi ipseque *Sententias* in dicto studio laudabiliter legerit et omnes alias actus scolasticos in universitate Coloniensi et Papiensi exercendos usque ad gradum magisterii feliciter consumaverit ac sub singulis reverendis patribus sacre theologie magistris huius alme Universitatis de arduis questionibus in facultate theologica responderit aliasque actus bachalariis in forma legentibus incumbentes laudabiliter exercuerit…». Vredewolt ha quindi esercitato le funzioni di baccelliere a Colonia, dove ha tenuto i corsi obbligatori sulle *Sentenze*, ed ha compiuto a Colonia e Pavia gli altri atti imposti ai baccellieri formati prima della laurea. Ma Vredewolt dove avrà insegnato e disputato a Pavia? Dall’‘instrumentum laureationis’ apprendiamo che il ‘sermo’ consueto a tenersi in occasione di ogni laurea toccò questa volta al servita Girolamo de Barachanis, dottore in teologia, nel quale dobbiamo vedere il ‘Doktorvater’ del Vredewolt, e che la cerimonia si svolse e il documento fu steso «presentibus honorabili viro domino magistro Johanne Duseldorp, canonico ecclesie sancti Severini in Colonia, magistro Rodulfo Huusman de Gronighen, domino Stephano de Averpia (sic), magistro Thoderico de Parsin (sic?) de Amsterdamis, omnibus studentibus in felici studio Papiensi». È questo l’unico documento d’archivio a me noto che parli della presenza di Agricola a Pavia. Ritornando alla domanda appena formulata, è probabile che Vredewolt abbia fatto riferimento in Pavia al convento dei Serviti. Se poi Agricola abbia assistito anche ad altri atti attinenti la promozione del Vredewolt, resta ipotesi probabile.

Ma conviene soffermarsi ancora un istante sul documento archivistico riguardante il Vredewolt. Agricola è chiamato ‘magister’, come è suo diritto; del gruppo di testimoni si dice ‘omnibus studentibus’: Agricola

⁷ Maiocchi, *Codice diplomatico dell’Università di Pavia* II 1, 410. *Het middeleeuwse boek in Groningen*, 86. Per Johannes Vredewolt senior v. J.A. Feith, «Groenengberg-Euvelgunne», 163 (riferisce a un documento di 1466).

era e veniva considerato ufficialmente ‘studens’. Stephanus de A~~nt~~-verpia, ma il notaio aveva scritto prima una ‘h’, che ha cancellato, e poi ‘anderbia’, che pure è stato cancellato, non è noto come studente pavese; si sa invece che apparteneva al circolo di Agricola e dei Plinii. «Stephanus de Antwerpia litteras ad me dedit» è l’incipit di una lettera che Agricola scrisse da Ferrara a Johannes Plinius il 19 luglio 1476, ed è lettera notissima, perché tratta del ritorno di Theodoricus Plinius in Germania e dell’eventuale trasloco dei due Plieningen a Ferrara concludendosi coi saluti, tra altri, «dominis Talhaym e Welde», come le lettere a Dietrich von Plieningen del 10 e 20 gennaio, del 4 aprile e del 5 agosto del medesimo anno.⁸ Johannes Dalhaym e Bartholomeus von Welden sono documentati archivisticamente in Pavia per gli anni che ci interessano,⁹ così i Plinii ed i conti di Öttingen.¹⁰ Nel 1472 è presente in Pavia il copista Oliverus de Bleysich de Leodio, che potrebbe essere identica persona con quell’Oliverus cui Agricola trasmette in più occasioni i saluti e al quale era debitore di una somma di denaro. Nel 1482 Oliverus cerca di far tornare in Italia Agricola. Non mi pare tuttavia esistano motivi per supporre che fosse italiano e quindi da tenersi distinto dal copista.¹¹ Il 23 agosto 1465 è documentata la presenza in Pavia dello studente Adam de Monte col quale va identificato, a mio avviso, l’omonimo amico di Agricola.¹² Ma perchè Agricola viene registrato in un solo atto di laurea e non ad esempio ogni volta che tra i testi sono elencate persone del suo ambiente e soprattutto quando si laureano noti amici suoi?

Agricola non è ricordato in occasione della laurea di Arnold de Lalaing l’11 agosto 1473, un giorno appena dopo l’intronizzazione del rettore Paul de Baenst, in tal veste presente all’atto.¹³ Anche questo è ovviamente un tassello nuovo nel mosaico della storia culturale dell’Università ticinense nella seconda metà del Quattrocento su cui bisognerà tornare. Troppi nomi e troppi fatti aridi? Gli specialisti sanno molto bene che non è senza significato elencare tra i dottori pavesi connessi con i Paesi Bassi

⁸ Hartfelder, «Unedierte Briefe von Rudolf Agricola», p. 15 (*Ep.* 11). Stephanus de Basquiel de Antwerpia si immatricolò a Lovanio il 29.8.1464, un giorno prima di Paul de Baenst (v. più avanti): Wils, *Matricule de l’Université de Louvain II*, 138. Johann (Boichen) de Düsseldorf: Schmidt-Bleibtreu, *Das Stift St. Severin in Köln*, 272.

⁹ Welden: Sottili, «Tunc floruit Alamannorum natio», 32. Dahlhaym: ASP, NP, 96 cc. 206r-207r; licenza in civile di Antonius Gruter de Traiecto Inferiori.

¹⁰ Plieningen: ASP, NP, 328 cc. 59r-60r (16.3.1476). Öttingen: ASP, NP, 93 cc. 608r-609v.

¹¹ Hartfelder, «Unedierte Briefe von Rudolf Agricola», pp. 15, 18 (2×), 22 (*Epp.* 11, 12, 18, 26); Daniel, Schott, Zahn, *Die lateinischen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München*, 52-53.

¹² ASP, NP, 91 c. 351r no. 5.

¹³ ASP, NP, 93 cc. 603r-604r. A. de Lalaing si era immatricolato a Colonia il 30.9.1462 e a Lovanio il 20.6.1464: Keussen, *Die Matrikel I*, 687; Wils, *Matricule II*, 132.

dopo il Carondelet e il Baenst, Arnold de Lalaing o Johannes Haneton.¹⁴ Forse più ingenuo, eppure connesso con la domanda formulata sopra è il quesito come mai nel documento si legge Huusman e non Agricola. Il notaio rogatore incontra notevoli difficoltà nello scrivere nomi e titoli dei non italiani, ma sembra persona accurata. Prima di ‘domino Stephano’ ha scritto e cancellato un ‘ma’: quindi Stephanus de Antwerpia non ha diritto al titolo di ‘magister’; prima di ‘Thoderico’ ha scritto qualcosa di non perfettamente leggibile, ma certo imparentato con ‘Thoderico’, e prima di Huusman ha iniziato a scrivere il cognome dell’umanista con una ‘A’. Intendeva allora scrivere Agricola, il nome col quale l’umanista sarà stato noto in Pavia e tanto più facile per orecchie e penne italiane? Può darsi, benché alla ‘A’ e come questa cancellata, segua una stanga retta che sembra simile alle stanga retta di una ‘h’. Il notaio scriveva questi nomi probabilmente sotto dettatura e la sua ortografia era controllata da persona competente la quale arrivata a Rudolf Agricola, prima pronunciò il nome nella forma umanistica e poi si corresse dando il nome nella forma volgare che tuttavia più si addiceva al contesto legale.

Siamo in genere propensi a considerare i testi a lauree solo dal punto di vista dei loro legami di amicizia col dottorando, e l’amicizia è spesso consolidata dalla comune provenienza geografica. Nel caso del Vredewolt i testi sono persone a lui in qualche modo legate da vincoli di amicizia o conoscenza, ma anche di persone delle regioni e degli ambienti da cui Vredewolt proveniva e che quindi avrebbero garantito, se richieste, dell’autenticità dell’atto negli ambienti e nelle regioni dove il Vredewolt sarebbe tornato. I testi provengono infatti da Groningen, Anversa, Amsterdam e Colonia, dai Paesi Bassi e dalla città dove Vredewolt aveva svolto l’insegnamento. Se la questione va posta in questi termini, l’assenza di Agricola da atti dove ci si aspetterebbe di trovarlo per i rapporti intercorsi tra lui ed il diretto interessato diventa meno sorprendente. Ma cercherò di spiegarmi con una ulteriore curiosità archivistica. Il medesimo pacco di documenti che ha conservato l’ ‘instrumentum laureationis’ di Johannes Vredewolt e quello per Arnold de Lalaing contiene il verbale di conferimento degli ordini minori al ‘venerabilis vir dominus Johannes de Dalberg, canonicus ecclesie Treverensis’, già in possesso della prima tonsura e rettore in carica della facoltà giuridica, ma meglio sarebbe dire università giuridica, come appunto il documento. Il conferimento degli ordini minori al Dalberg avvenne il 21 dicembre 1474, circa tre mesi dopo l’assunzione del

¹⁴ J. Haneton si era immatricolato a Lovanio il 26.8.1463: Wils, *Matricule II*, 116. Il 9.2.1473 partecipò insieme a Paul de Baenst alla licenza in civile di Nichasius Vergelois e il 23.7.1474 gli fu conferita la licenza nella stessa materia: ASP, NP, 93 cc. 617r-v, 638v.

rettorato da parte del Dalberg: in tale occasione Agricola aveva pronunciato la ben nota ‘laudatio’. Il nome di Agricola non compare tra i presenti. La cerimonia venne compiuta nella cappella di S. Silvestro del palazzo vescovile e interessò Nicolaus Faber, ‘canonicus Nuhusensis’, cui venne conferita la prima tonsura, Nicolaus de Lausheym, chierico della diocesi di Magonza, cui vennero conferiti prima tonsura e i quattro ordini minori, e il Dalberg. È dato per esteso il documento riguardante la prima tonsura del Lausheym e come testi sono indicati due ecclesiastici pavesi (Bartholomeus de Palestro, dottore in canonico e vicario ‘in spiritualibus’ del cardinale Giacomo Ammannati Piccolomini, vescovo di Pavia, e Giovanni Matteo de Privollis, arcidiacono pavesi) e inoltre Nicolaus Faber e Johannes Molspensis, magister e diocesano di Worms. Agli stessi si rimanda nel documento riguardante i quattro ordini minori per il Dalberg. Faber è diocesano di Magonza ed esibisce una autorizzazione ad accedere agli ordini rilasciatagli dal vicario dell’arcivescovo di Magonza Adolfo di Nassau, il canonico maguntino Bertoldus; Molspen è diocesano di Worms, Nicolaus Faber non proviene da zone diverse. La scelta dei testimoni non obbedisce solo a regole di amicizia, ma di convenienza giuridica: si tratta di persone che potranno fornire una garanzia laddove il documento verrà più probabilmente esibito.¹⁵ Se le cose stanno, come credo, veramente in questi termini, l’assenza di Agricola è meno strana di quanto sembrerebbe logico pensare.

Johannes von Dalberg fu rettore nell’anno accademico 1474-75 e dopo la fine dell’anno rettorale tornò in patria, senza laurea; di essa non ho trovato traccia nelle imprese notarili pavesi, che invece conservano la testimonianza della felice conclusione degli studi da parte di Matteo Richilus, il rettore medico-artista dell’anno 1472-73 per cui Agricola pure tenne una ‘laudatio’,¹⁶ di Paul de Baenst, e se ne riparla più avanti e di Ludovicus de Alis, il nemico acerrimo di Johannes von Dalberg e rettore nell’anno accademico 1475-76.¹⁷

¹⁵ ASP, NP, 93 cc. 594r-595v. Nel redigere gli atti il notaio ha confuso le persone. Il primo documento si intitola: «Prima tonsura domini Nicolai Fabri canonici N.». In realtà chi riceve la prima tonsura è Nicolaus de Lausheym. Il secondo documento riguarda gli ordini minori per il Dalberg: c. 594v. In calce compare l’indicazione: «In simili forma fiat domino Nicolao de Lausheym clericu diocesis Maguntinensis ad titulum patrimonii sui». Ho ritenuto di poter spiegare l’incongruenza supponendo che la prima tonsura sia stata conferita tanto al Faber quanto al Lausheym e che questo abbia ricevuto pure gli ordini minori. Qualche perplessità mi resta sulla lettura dei cognomi Lausheym e Molspensis o Molspergensis, come forse si legge a c. 595r. Bertoldus: Berthold von Henneberg?

¹⁶ Richilus: 31.5.1473, licenza in arti e medicina; 7.6.1473, dottorato nelle medesime materie: ASP, NP, 327 cc. 420r e 421bis r. Baenst: 10.8.1474, dottorato in utroque: ASP, NP, 93 cc. 633r-634r.

¹⁷ Lodovico ebbe la licenza in utroque il 25.5. e si addottorò il 10.8.1476: ASP, NP, 94 c. 178r-v, 94 c. 235r.

Quando Dalberg tornò in patria, Agricola andò a Ferrara, come Agricola stesso ci informa in una sua ben nota lettera: «Rector fuit Papie (il Dalberg): dixi quum eum magistratum iniret, post quem ille in patriam, ego Ferrariam abii». ¹⁸ Forse non è del tutto ozioso chiedersi se tra le due partenze esista qualche nesso. Per il periodo del rettorato del Dalberg non sono affiorati che pochi ‘instrumenta laureationis’ e nessuno, ma è inutile ripeterlo, riguarda Agricola. Dalberg partecipa come rettore alla licenza in civile di Jodocus Quevijn (Quavijn) de Flandria il 21.10.1474; ¹⁹ si passa poi, ma deve trattarsi di lacuna imputabile alla documentazione, non ad inattività dell’Università, al 10 giugno 1475 quando si addottora in canonico Henricus Schertlin de Leivvenberg, presenti gli studenti Johannes de Öttingen, Marquard von Stein, Urbanus Fünfer de Stuttgart, Matheus de Branckenen. ²⁰ Successivamente Dalberg è presente come rettore a tre lauree di italiani: 27 giugno, licenza e dottorato di Battista Sfondrati di Cremona; 15 luglio, licenza e dottorato in utroque di Giovanni Marco da Luino; 21 luglio, licenza e dottorato di Giovanni Agostino Beccaria. ²¹ Il 23 agosto agisce come rettore il già nominato Ludovicus de Alis. ²² Essendo Dalberg ancora in carica il 21 luglio non mi sembra si possa dubitare che sia rimasto nel suo ufficio fino alle scadenza solita, cioè fino al 10 agosto, quando, secondo la normativa, entrava in carica il nuovo rettore, mentre il rettore decaduto rimaneva per un mese a disposizione di una commissione che ne esaminava l’operato. Dalberg potrebbe essere partito per la Germania verso la metà di settembre e Agricola per Ferrara nello stesso torno di tempo. Le circostanze nelle quali Dalberg ottenne il rettorato a Pavia sono note. Egli non venne eletto il 4 luglio, come gli statuti prevedevano; a tal data venne eletto un tedesco di cui non mi pare si sappia il nome e che fuggì da Pavia per sottrarsi ai creditori. Il 10 agosto entrò in carica al suo posto Ludovicus de Alis, già sconfitto da Paul de Baenst il 4 luglio 1473, e l’anno successivo dal tedesco poi scappato. ²³ Ludovico incontrò un’opposizione fortissima nell’ambiente dei tedeschi, i quali infine ne ottennero la destituzione e gli sostituirono il Dalberg.

¹⁸ Hartfelder, «Unedierte Briefe von Rudolf Agricola», p. 23 (*Ep.* 26). Ma il primo a partire fu Agricola: ‘Addo greca et in ipsis postea quam a te discessi nescio quid effeci’: Morneweg, *Johann von Dalberg, ein deutscher Humanist und Bischof*, 45 (Ms. ‘effeci’, Morneweg ‘efficiam’).

¹⁹ ASP, NP, 93 c. 641r-v. Josse Quiévin, maître des requêtes (1508): *Archives départementales du Nord*, 221 s.v.

²⁰ ASP, NP, 94 cc. 489r-490r. Schertlin, Fünfer, M. v. Stein: Ludwig, «Südwest-deutsche Studenten in Pavia».

²¹ ASP, NP, 94 cc. 485r-486r, 465bis v, 457r-458bis r.

²² ASP, NP, 94 cc. 496r-497r.

²³ Sottili, «Le contestate elezioni rettorali», 29-75.

Agricola pronunciò l'orazione in lode di Paul de Baenst il mattino del 10 agosto 1473. La data è certa non solo perché gli statuti della facoltà giuridica prevedono che l' 'assumptio capucii' da parte del nuovo rettore avvenisse la mattina di S. Lorenzo, ma ancora perché lo stesso 10 agosto 1473, evidentemente nel pomeriggio, ebbe le insegne dottorali 'in utroque' Antonius de Bugerinis, predecessore del Baenst nella carica e mentovato da Agricola nell'orazione. Essendo il 10 agosto data fissata dagli statuti, non è possibile anticipare l'entrata in carica del Baenst; d'altro canto, poiché il rettore deve essere studente o licenziato e quindi il Baenst deve aver ricevuto le consegne prima del dottorato del Bugerini, il mattino del 10 agosto resta la sola data possibile. Non va d'altro canto dimenticato che Paul de Baenst si addottorò il 10 agosto 1474. Se si applica poi il meccanismo alla facoltà di arti e medicina, si arriva a fissare al 7 giugno 1472 la data dell'orazione di Agricola per Matteo Richilus. Questo ebbe la licenza in arti e medicina il 31 maggio 1473 ed ottenne le insegne dottorali il 7 giugno successivo. Esattamente un anno prima, il 7 giugno 1472, aveva avuto le insegne dottorali in presenza del 'rector novus', cioè del Richilus, Petrus de Bellano. Il 7 giugno 1472 deve essere avvenuto il passaggio delle consegne dal Bellano al Richilus: in tale occasione Agricola pronunciò l'orazione.²⁴

Il discorso in lode del Dalberg non venne invece declamato il 10 agosto 1474, come in condizioni normali sarebbe avvenuto, ma un mese più tardi circa, dopo la definitiva destituzione di Ludovicus de Alis, o meglio dopo la sua sospensione dalla carica di rettore e l'assegnazione da parte dell'autorità ducale all'anno accademico 1475-76. Gli 'instrumenta laureationis' mostrano però il de Alis in carica nell'agosto 1474, mentre era in pieno svolgimento la contesa con i fautori di Johannes von Dalberg. Ludovicus de Alis presenzia in qualità di rettore alla licenza e dottorato in civile di Andrianus de Ducibus di Moncalieri (13.8.1474), alla licenza in civile di Carolus de Vasis Burgundus il 25 e alla licenza e dottorato in utroque di Giovanni Gabriele Gambarelli di Piacenza il 31.²⁵ Alla licenza del de Vasis assistono il dottore in utroque Paul de Baenst de Flandria e gli studenti borgognoni Petrus Poncoti e Carolus Bernardi.

Con queste note di minima erudizione non intendo dimostrare ulteriormente che le ricerche archivistiche hanno una loro importanza per la narrazione della storia culturale d'età umanistica: la cosa mi sembra scontata. In relazione ad esempio con la laurea in teologia del

²⁴ Per M. Richilus v. nota 16. Il dottorato in utroque di Antonius de Bugerinis in: ASP, NP, 327 cc. 444r-445r. Il dottorato in medicina di Petrus de Bellano: *ibid.* c. 220r-v. Per la data di elezione del rettore giurista: *Die Statuten der Juristen-Universität Pavia*, 69-70.

²⁵ ASP, NP, 93 cc. 631r-632r, 639r-v, 494r.

Vredewolt (26.1.1473) va datata la lettera di Agricola al medesimo, anzi il contenuto di questa diventa più chiaro.²⁶ Il Vredewolt intende conseguire la laurea in sacra pagina e si informa presso Agricola; non pensa però ad una promozione lampo, ma vuole trascorrere a Pavia l'intero inverno, naturalmente 1472-73. Le cose risultarono a Pavia più facili di quanto Vredewolt pensasse se già nella seconda metà di gennaio era possibile la sua laurea: le conclusioni comunque che l'episodio consente a proposito della facoltà teologica pavese appartengono ad altro contesto.

Ritornando al rettorato di Ludovicus de Alis e alla partenza da Pavia di Johannes von Dalberg e Rudolf Agricola, presumibilmente verso la metà di settembre del 1475, è stato appena detto che tra gli avvenimenti potrebbe esistere un nesso. L'affronto subito dallo spagnolo un anno prima, quando era stato deposto dall'ufficio ad anno rettorale già iniziato, deve essere stato molto cocente. Nella vicenda Agricola era più che compromesso avendo pronunciato l'orazione in lode dell'avversario del de Alis. Finché Dalberg era rettore o soggiornava in città, Agricola poteva sentirsi sicuro da ritorsioni; partito Dalberg e iniziato il rettorato dello spagnolo, l'ambiente pavese poteva non essere più tanto sicuro per lo studente Agricola: non va dimenticato che il rettore aveva poteri giurisdizionali in primo luogo nei riguardi degli studenti. Il desiderio di imparare il greco potrebbe non essere stato il solo motivo che spinse Agricola a cambiare università.

Ma la documentata presenza in Pavia di uno spagnolo che tanto rumore fece nel luglio 1473 e poi nell'agosto successivo e infine divenne rettore mi conduce ad un'ulteriore ipotesi. Agricola è autore, come è ben noto, di versi in lode di Pavia, dove tra altro si legge: «Te petit Hispanus, Gallus quoque, flavaque pubes / Te Germana petit. Longis nos mittit ab oris / Frisia».²⁷ Nessun problema per la 'Germana pubes' e nemmeno per i Galli, ma Pavia non sembra proprio essere stata università cui gli iberici abbiano guardato con particolare simpatia. Quando anzi il de Alis soccombette nella concorrenza con Paul de Baenst e cercò di ottenere dal duca la carica per l'anno seguente, uno dei punti su cui poggia la protesta degli ultramontani all'autorità sovrana fu proprio la mancanza di iberici in Pavia: essi affermano che Ludovico era l'unico studente della sua nazione presente in Pavia in quel momento.²⁸ Quindi o Agricola ha scritto quei versi per abitudine letteraria oppure essi sono nati sotto l'impressione di qualche avvenimento che rendesse sensibile la presenza

²⁶ Hartfelder, «Unedierte Briefe von Rudolf Agricola», pp. 11-12 (*Ep.* 2).

²⁷ Agricola, *Lucubrations*, Köln s.a. (= Nieuwkoop 1967), 309.

²⁸ Sottili, «Le contestate elezioni rettorali», 58.

spagnola, quindi dopo la comparsa sulla scena universitaria di Ludovicus de Alis e l'inizio delle sue prodezze.

Alla ricerca di una motivazione non soltanto umanistica per il cambio di università da parte di Agricola mi spinge ancora il dato, certo perché fondato di nuovo su documenti archivistici, dell'esistenza a Pavia di un insegnamento universitario di greco. I *Commentarii* pliniani sono esplicativi nel negarlo («deerant autem qui eas», le lettere greche, «Papie publice profiterentur»),²⁹ ma le fonti archivistiche sono altrettanto chiare nell'affermare il contrario, e cioè che tra i compiti di Giorgio Valla, deputato alla lettura di retorica, c'era l'insegnamento del greco, anzi Giorgio Valla ebbe il posto proprio perché era in grado di insegnare il greco. La vicenda ha inizio con una missiva ducale del 2 agosto 1466 siglata dal segretario e umanista Cicco Simonetta. Il duca informa il destinatario, cioè Giorgio Valla, di essere a conoscenza di quanto grande sia la sua esperienza di latino e greco. Valla non se ne deve andare da Pavia perché ad inizio del nuovo anno accademico si provvederà in maniera tale da renderlo contento.³⁰ Quale sia il nocciolo della questione lo si apprende da una ducale, nuovamente siglata da Cicco Simonetta, con data 17 settembre 1467 e indirizzata al Consiglio Segreto, l'organo attraverso il quale il duca sbrigava in pratica gli affari ordinari dell'Università di Pavia.³¹ Il duca, e Cicco Simonetta per lui, informa il Consiglio Segreto che già nell'anno precedente era stata intenzione sovrana che a Giorgio Valla venisse corrisposto adeguato salario essendo egli stato «deputato ad legere littere greche et etiandio alcune lectione latine in arte oratoria nel nostro studio de Pavia», cioè già per l'anno accademico 1466-67 a Valla era stato affidato con pubblico incarico l'insegnamento di greco e, in subordine, di latino, ma non era stato messo in rotolo e non gli era quindi stato corrisposto stipendio. Ciò significa tuttavia che a Pavia, oltre agli insegnamenti registrati dal rotolo e pagati ufficialmente, altri insegnamenti esistevano da considerarsi universitari a pieno titolo, ma non pubblicamente rimunerati. Giorgio Valla insegnava greco e latino, ma ancora nel settembre 1467 senza pubblico stipendio. Il duca, o Cicco Simonetta per lui, intendevano porre fine a tale stato di cose, ma nell'autunno 1466, quando il Senato approvò il rotolo per l'anno accademico 1466-67, Giorgio Valla continuò a rimanere escluso. L'intervento ducale ha lo scopo di impedire che la stessa cosa succeda in occasione della approvazione del rotolo per il 1467-68: Valla deve avere

²⁹ Pfeifer, «Rudolf Agricola», 102.

³⁰ ASM (= Archivio di Stato di Milano), Miss. 72 f. 216v. Per Valla: *Giorgio Valla tra scienza e sapienza*.

³¹ ASM, Miss. 79 f. 154r: sigla sotto timbro.

lo stipendio, ma la spesa globale per l'Università non deve crescere e i fondi per pagare Valla sono da reperirsi lasciando cadere qualcuna di quelle letture 'in festis' assegnate per favorire l'uno o l'altro studente, ma prive di valore pratico. Valla ebbe il posto: nel rotolo per l'anno accademico 1467-68 il suo nome è al terzo posto tra gli insegnanti di retorica, dopo Rasini e Oca.³² Il problema diventa ora sapere se Valla ha veramente insegnato greco e la risposta ci viene da una lettera dell'interessato conservata con altri documenti che lo riguardano nella serie *Autografi* dell'Archivio di Stato di Milano.³³ Questi documenti andrebbero tutti esaminati (in altra lettera Giorgio descrive proprio a Cicco Simonetta le forme del suo insegnamento); ragioni di economia di spazio impediscono che di tutti si tenga il debito conto. Nell'epistola che interessa il presente contesto Giorgio Valla scrive al duca per ottenere l'autorizzazione ad assentarsi dall'Università nel mese di marzo prossimo al fine di recarsi a Roma a lucrare l'indulgenza del giubileo: la lettera è dunque del 1475. Valla propone di recuperare a settembre le lezioni omesse a marzo e spiega: «et eo plus quod amisero resartiam, quod quia pro me qui greca opera interpretetur que iam incepi, non habeo, totum septembrem, quo mense ceteri non legunt, tam greca quam latina interpretabor». Giorgio Valla potrebbe essere richiesto di nominare un sostituto durante l'assenza di marzo, ma il sostituto per leggere greco a Pavia non si trova. Della frase citata è importante tutto, ma specialmente l'affermazione dell'impossibilità di trovare un sostituto per le lezioni di greco perché abbiamo in tal modo la certezza che Giorgio Valla insegnava veramente greco e che la conoscenza di questa lingua nella Pavia universitaria era estremamente rara. Tra gli allievi in greco di Giorgio Valla va forse annoverato Johannes Löffelholz (che in Pavia si laureò l'8 aprile 1472 presenti, tra altri, i conti di Öttingen),³⁴ e forse anche Agricola, perché non è facile pensare che sia giunto a Ferrara totalmente digiuno di greco ed abbia fatto così rapidi progressi in questa lingua. La demitizzazione della 'peregrinatio' accademica dell'Agricola che mi sforzo di compiere non deve far perdere il senso delle proporzioni. Né a Pavia né a Milano Agricola trovava un poeta della levatura di Tito Vespasiano Strozzi e l'insegnamento di retorica nella città universitaria lombarda non toccava vertici eccelsi. Uno dei primi atti compiuti da Johannes von Dalberg dopo l'insediamento come rettore fu un intervento riguardante proprio l'insegnamento di retorica: inutile dire che la fonte è di nuovo archivistica.³⁵ Stante l'importanza della disciplina per lo studio

³² Sottili, «La Natio Germanica dell'Università di Pavia», 360.

³³ ASM, *Autografi*, 158.43.

³⁴ Sottili, «Tunc floruit Alamannorum natio», 41.

³⁵ ASM, *Comuni*, 69.

pavese, il rettore von Dalberg ed i ‘consiliarii rectoris’ il 12 settembre 1474 chiedono al duca un aumento di salario per l’insegnante di retorica Ubertino da Crescentino. Le sorti dell’insegnamento di retorica a Pavia ai tempi di Agricola erano affidate a Giorgio Valla ed al crescentinato alle cui lezioni Teodorico Plinio raccolse appunti sull’*Epistolario* di Cicerone.³⁶

Se i rapporti di Rudolf Agricola con Giorgio Valla e Ubertino da Crescentino non oltrepassano il livello di mera ipotesi, quelli col professore di diritto Luca Grassi e coll’umanista milanese Girolamo Crivelli sono documentati dalla produzione poetica di Agricola,³⁷ mentre due sue opere in prosa sono dedicate ad Antonio Scrovegni che i *Commentarii* pliniani chiamano ‘vir haud illitteratus’.³⁸ Forse questo è l’elogio maggiore che si possa fare dello Scrovegni perché quanto della sua biografia mi è riuscito di raccogliere mai lo fa apparire in veste di umanista. Comunque queste poche notizie vanno rese di pubblico dominio perché da esse è lecito dedurre qualche altra ipotesi sulla vita pavese dell’umanista frisone. Trattandosi ancora di dati d’archivio è inevitabile l’impressione di aridità e di erudizione fine a sé stessa, ma solo l’erudizione permette di formulare una risposta all’interrogativo ‘chi era costui’, nel lettore inevitabile davanti alla lettera di dedica della traduzione latina della relazione di Arnold de Lalaing a Paul de Baenst sull’incontro di Federico III con Carlo il Temerario a Treviri, e più ancora davanti al solenne incipit «*Henricus Scrofinius avus tuus*» della vita di Petrarca.³⁹ Antonio Scrovegni fu dunque studente all’Università di Pavia e come tale partecipò il 4 luglio 1462 all’elezione a rettore di Lorenz Pesler di Norimberga.⁴⁰ Il 13 ottobre successivo viene convocato dal duca a Milano insieme allo studente Domenico Sardo, già segnalatosi per facinorosità in occasione dell’elezione rettorale nella facoltà giuridica per il 1457-58. Il motivo della convocazione non è noto: chiamate a Milano di studenti avvengono di solito in conseguenza di tumulti. Nell’anno accademico 1463-64 Antonio Scrovegni riceve l’incarico per una lettura festiva nella facoltà giuridica. Per assenza da Pavia dell’interessato l’incarico passa a Cristoforo Maletta e Pietro Crivelli.⁴¹ La promozione accademica di Antonio Scrovegni ebbe luogo prima del 26.5.1472: a questa data egli è infatti podestà a Pontecurone e in una supplica al duca di abitanti del luogo è indicato il grado accademico.⁴²

³⁶ Adelmann, «Dr. Dietrich von Plieningen», 93.

³⁷ *Lucubrationes*, 293-94, 310.

³⁸ Pfeifer, «Rudolf Agricola», 102.

³⁹ Lindeboom, «Petrarca’s leven, beschreven door Rudolf Agricola», 93; Bertalot, *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, II 2.

⁴⁰ ASP, NP, 325 cc. 34r-35v. Pesler: Wachauf, «Nürnberger Bürger als Juristen», 82.

⁴¹ ASM, Miss. 58 f. 114v; Visc. sforz. 759 (1.12.1463) e 756 (2.10.1459).

⁴² Pavia, Archivio Municipale, Schede Marozzi, Scrovegni, 453.

Non ho ritrovato il suo ‘instrumentum laureationis’. Va tuttavia aggiunto che gli ‘instrumenta’ per il ventennio 1450-70 non sono molti e che ancora il 1471 resta anno debolmente rappresentato. Il 2.12.1478 Antonio Scrovegni, ‘legum doctor’, entra a far parte del Collegio dei dottori e partecipa da questo momento agli esami dottorali.⁴³ Il 9.9.1484 invia una lettera latina a Bartolomeo Calco: si tratta dei disordini che succedono continuamente in Pavia; i latinisti non avranno difficoltà a negare eccessivi pregi stilistici alle poche righe.⁴⁴ Il 14.12.1486 Antonio è testimone alla redazione del testamento di Pietro Mangiaria.⁴⁵ Resta ancora qualche documento riguardante una contesa giudiziaria sorta dopo la morte di Giacomo padre di Antonio⁴⁶ e infine il testamento di Antonio rogato dal notaio Giovanni Francesco Canevari il 30.1.1498, dove comunque non si fa menzione di libri.⁴⁷ Antonio dispone di essere sepolto nella chiesa di S. Francesco davanti all’altare di Sant’Antonio da Padova. Questo breve profilo fondato su notizie d’archivio nulla rivela che abbia qualche connessione con vicende strettamente umanistiche, anzi il coinvolgimento umanistico sembra del tutto estraneo al ramo pavesi della famiglia Scrovegni della quale Agricola conobbe certamente anche l’appena nominato Giacomo, padre di Antonio. Su di lui parecchie cose affiorano dalla corrispondenza sforzesca conservata all’Archivio di Stato di Milano;⁴⁸ si tratta però sempre di questioni estranee alla vita letteraria: somme di cui la camera ducale è debitrice a Giacomo; somme che Giacomo deve al Capitolo del duomo di Pavia; riferimenti alle podesterie di Novara e Piacenza esercitate in tempi diversi da Giacomo; interventi per procurare all’altro figlio Enrico un beneficio (S. Pietro in Ciel d’oro, Lardirago, Montebello); infine tentativi di convincere Francesco Sforza ad invadere il territorio della repubblica di Venezia. Giacomo non va classificato tra i funzionari sforzeschi di rango più alto e la sua famiglia, perché di insediamento recente e non numerosa, non appartiene al gruppo delle famiglie pavesi veramente influenti. Tanto più problematico diventa allora spiegare le ragioni delle due dediche di Agricola ad Antonio Scrovegni e particolarmente della relazione di Arnold de Lalaing a Paul de Baenst con la formulazione di proposte di traduzione latina di termini moderni che sembrano attinte a Lorenzo Valla.⁴⁹ Le semplici ragioni di amicizia mi appaiono argomento tenue,

⁴³ Pavia, Museo dell’Università, Matricola del Collegio dei giuristi.

⁴⁴ ASM, Visc. sforz. 1177 sottoscrive ‘i.u. doctor’.

⁴⁵ V. n. 42.

⁴⁶ ASM, Visc. sforz. 1177: 23, 27, 28.2.1489.

⁴⁷ ASP, NP, 581 e n. 42: ‘i.u. doctor’.

⁴⁸ ASM, Visc. sforz. 753, 755, 758, 759, 760 *passim*.

⁴⁹ *Gesta Ferdinandi regis Aragonum*, 11.

appigli per formulare l'ipotesi di una dipendenza clientelare o di mecenatismo non ne esistono; resta la persona cui la redazione originale francese dell'epistola di Arnold de Lalaing era indirizzata, il rettore Paul de Baenst, senza il cui intervento è impensabile la pubblicazione del testo e la sua diffusione in latino. Probabilmente non manca un tenue risvolto politico: Lalaing era prevosto della collegiata di Notre-Dame a Bruges,⁵⁰ negli stati del Temerario. La relazione uscita dalla sua penna non è neutra; egli è più partigiano di Carlo il Temerario che di Federico III, benché sia attento in primo luogo alle ceremonie ed all'abbigliamento così che i fatti più importanti, i problemi veri trattati nell'incontro, si apprendono dalle giunte latine di Agricola.⁵¹ Quanto siano stati fitti e pieni di conseguenze storico-culturali i rapporti tra Milano e gli stati del duca di Borgogna è risaputo, ma è pur risaputo che durante la signoria di Galeazzo Maria Sforza i rapporti tra Borgogna e Lombardia furono più di tensione che di alleanza. Nel 1473 l'atteggiamento di Galeazzo Maria è particolare. La reinvestitura di Genova da parte del re di Francia conteneva la clausola che il duca di Milano nei tre anni successivi non sarebbe stato tenuto ad inviare truppe in aiuto del re di Francia.⁵² Strana lega dunque quella del milanese col sovrano francese e tale da poter venir interpretata come forma di neutralità nei riguardi della contesa in corso tra Carlo il Temerario e il re di Francia. Lentamente ci si muove verso il trattato di Moncalieri. Il rettorato di Paul de Baenst e la relazione di Arnold de Lalaing vanno a mio avviso interpretati nella logica della preparazione a lunga distanza delle circostanze favorevoli al trattato; il rettorato di Paul de Baenst dovrebbe quindi essere considerato come un segno del riavvicinamento tra Milano e la Borgogna culminato a Moncalieri, per quanto peso possa aver avuto un rettore pavese in un'operazione del genere. Non dimentichiamo che Lalaing scrive per andare incontro ad un desiderio del corrispondente: «*Perspectum mihi fuit, summo te studio, summaque voluptate conventum imperatoris et ducis nostri auditurum*». Agricola ebbe la lettera da Paul de Baenst e la tradusse in latino certamente non soltanto per compiacere Antonio Scrovegni, ma perché venisse letta in Pavia e fuori Pavia. Tuttavia la lettera, nella redazione latina approntata da Agricola non è un manifesto propagandistico a favore del Temerario, basti pensare alle parole che la concludono con il loro giudizio non entusiasmante né a proposito del duca né su Federico III: «*Quidem audivi, qui affirmaret aemulatione*

⁵⁰ Nell'atto di laurea è chiamato «*ecclesiarum collegiarum Sancti Salvatoris Harlebecensis nec non beate Marie Virginis Brugensis prepositus*». V. n. 13.

⁵¹ *Lucubrationes*, 226.

⁵² Walsh, «*Relations between Milan and Burgundy*», 375.

inter ipsos agi et utrunque oblitum mensurae suaे, illum quidem invidere minori, hunc vero contemnere maiorem».⁵³ Il fallimento delle trattative tra l'imperatore e Carlo il Temerario era stato accolto a Milano con viva soddisfazione ed Agricola dovette nelle giunte tener conto di questa atmosfera senza tuttavia rinunciare a diffondere uno scritto che, quantunque con toni moderati, offre un'immagine positiva del duca di Borgogna. Il tono distaccato e critico contrasta con la lode decisa che del Temerario Agricola aveva pronunciato il 10 agosto 1473 in occasione dell'intronizzazione di Paul de Baenst.⁵⁴ Giunto a parlare dell'ascendenza familiare del neorettore, citate per nome la famiglia paterna (de Baenst) e materna (Losschaert) e sottolineate brevemente le importanti cariche rivestite in Bruges dai membri di entrambe le famiglie, Agricola parla della benevolenza loro mostrata dai duchi di Borgogna e in particolare da Filippo il Buono e Carlo il Temerario, «qui nunc summa cum laude rerum potitur». Segue un elogio di Carlo il Temerario che veramente meraviglia per il contenuto ed il luogo dove fu pronunciato. È inimmaginabile un messaggio più esplicito nei riguardi del duca milanese ed è inimmaginabile che parole del genere siano state declamate senza che de Baenst ne fosse stato preventivamente informato, anzi l'elogio deve essere stato concordato con de Baenst stesso se non addirittura con la stessa autorità ducale, nel qual caso l'elogio di Agricola per Carlo il Temerario sarebbe un segno di disgelo nei rapporti tra Milano e la Borgogna. Agricola non è ben certo se un benevolo giudizio da parte di Carlo il Temerario sia da considerarsi superiore a qualunque altro titolo di onore, è però sicuro che a qualsiasi altro titolo di onore sta alla pari. Di lode in lode Agricola arriva ad affermare che anche i re più potenti temono Carlo: l'allusione alla Francia, formalmente alleata di Milano, è palese. Parole anzi del genere, se non concordate, potevano suonare come minaccia nei confronti dello Sforza. La libertà accademica non basta in casi del genere, inoltre libertà accademica nella Pavia degli Sforza non significa autorizzazione a lodare in pubbliche ceremonie gli avversari del duca. L'orazione di Agricola per Paul de Baenst va dunque veramente intesa come un atto politico e diplomatico nella storia dei rapporti tra gli Sforza e Carlo il Temerario. Questa orazione, su cui L. Bertalot ha avanzato qualche riserva, estesa per altro a tutte le orazioni di Agricola,⁵⁵ se letta in prospettiva universitaria non è povera di informazioni. Intanto è bene chiedersi come si è giunti all'elezione di Paul de Baenst, un

⁵³ *Lucubrationes*, 226.

⁵⁴ Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. poet. 4° 36 ff. 323r-328r.

⁵⁵ *Studien* ..., II 29. (cf. n. 39).

fiammingo che Agricola aveva conosciuto a Lovanio.⁵⁶ Secondo Agricola l'elezione di Paul de Baenst fu preceduta da uno scontro tra Germani e Galli. Gli anni precedenti avevano visto la seguente alternanza nella carica: un tedesco (Ludovicus de Frieberg, 1468-69), un italiano (Gaspar de Zambinis, 1469-70), un borgognone (Guido de Rupeforte Burgundus, 1470-71), due italiani (Bartolomeo Pirovani di Milano e Antonio de Bugerinis di Cremona, 1471-72, 1472-73).⁵⁷ A seguito dell'elezione consecutiva di due italiani, i due anni seguenti toccavano agli stranieri, divisi in due gruppi: Galli e Germani. Agricola usa il termine universitario 'natio', ma impropriamente: il duca non tollerava a Pavia nazioni organizzate. Galli inoltre significa soprattutto 'Burgundi'. Ma cerchiamo di chiarire le parole di Agricola partendo dall'esito dell'elezione, quella di un fiammingo. A quale gruppo appartiene de Baenst, ai Galli o ai Germani? Agricola afferma che motivo di somma lode per de Baenst è il giudizio dato su di lui dalla 'natio Germanorum' allora appunto in emulazione coi Galli. I Germani trassero de Baenst ad accettare la dignità rettorale 'omni contentione seposita, non longo ambitu fatigati, non precibus victi'. È bastata la probità della persona a convincere i Germani; non sono state necessarie né le preghiere né le sollecitazioni; le virtù di Paul de Baenst li hanno convinti a lasciar perdere ogni contesa. Paul de Baenst non era il candidato dei Germani, ma dei Galli, vale a dire dei Burgundi; oppure fu un candidato di compromesso, ma ufficialmente burgundo. La documentazione archivistica pavese conferma la tesi. Sono conservate una trentina di imprese per promozioni rettorali cui de Baenst assistette come rettore a cominciare da quella per Arnold de Lalaing, e parecchie riguardano non italiani; orbene il rettore in carica viene chiamato dai notai sia Paulus de Baenst de Flandria sia Paulus de Bruges Burgundus, con correzioni di quest'ultima denominazione nella precedente ad indicare le preferenze dell'interessato.⁵⁸

Il rettorato di Paul de Baenst durò il tempo previsto dalla normativa: il fiammingo si addottorò il 10 agosto 1474 e assistette il 25 come *iuris utriusque doctor* e non più come rettore, alla licenza in civile di Carolus de Vasis Burgundus.⁵⁹ Il collegio pavese dei dotti lo raccomandò al duca di Milano con molti elogi da cui ricaviamo che Paul tenne fede alle

⁵⁶ «Praeteriti autem et incipientis evi ego illi, posterioris vos (i presenti alla cerimonia) mihi estis locupletissimi testes». Paul de Baenst si immatricolò a Lovanio il 30.8.1464: Wils, *Matricule II*, 139.

⁵⁷ Guido de Rupeforte: Walsh, «The Coming of Humanism», 185-186; Tournoy-Thoen, *Publi Fausti Andrelini Amores sive Livia*, 482 s.v. Guido si laureò a Pavia in utroque il 1º febbraio 1473: ASP, NP, 93 cc. 31r-32r e «Rettori e vicerettori dell'Università legista pavese nella seconda metà del Quattrocento».

⁵⁸ ASP, NP, 327 cc. 560r, 567r.

⁵⁹ ASP, NP, 93 cc. 633r-634r e n. 25.

promesse fatte da Agricola nell’orazione.⁶⁰ Qualche dubbio invece sorge se tanto splendore di virtù abbia accompagnato il fiammingo nei decenni seguenti. Il cronista De Doppere è disposto a concedere al de Baenst ‘magna litteratura’, cioè l’ ‘eximius eruditiois cultus’ di Agricola. Per il resto, «quamvis esset civis Brugensis ingenitus, parvus tamen erat amicus rei publicae»; inoltre: «nunquam bene meritus de Flandria», con quel che segue e precede a cominciare da «sicut alii de Bastelingis»,⁶¹ i quali, secondo Agricola, vantavano invece innumerevoli meriti nei riguardi della patria brugense.

Tra intenzioni politiche e documenti d’archivio è però facile dimenticare la ragione ultima delle orazioni pavesi di Agricola: «ut ... si quas in dicendo vires habet, possit eas pre se ferre», per usare le parole con le quali l’autorità ducale intervenne per far assegnare a Lancellotto Decio l’orazione inaugurale per l’anno accademico 1462-63.⁶² Anche per Agricola si trattava di dare dimostrazione di essere oratore, cioè umanista. La prova dovette essere convincente perché in caso contrario non avrebbe avuto la possibilità di ripresentarsi davanti al medesimo pubblico. Ciò nonostante mancano le reazioni degli italiani. A questo punto non ci attende quindi una conclusione, ma una riapertura del problema: urge continuare l’indagine sulla Pavia quattrocentesca nella speranza che la documentazione archivistica, come ha favorito Mathias Richilus,⁶³ Paul de Baenst e Johannes von Dalberg, sia finalmente generosa anche col nostro umanista.

⁶⁰ Sottili, «Le contestate elezioni», 57.

⁶¹ *Fragments inédits de Romboudt de Doppere*, 67. Ed.: Bastelingi.

⁶² ASM, Visc. sforz. 758: 16.9.1462.

⁶³ Insieme al rettore giurista Antonius Bugiarinus, M. Richilus sottoscrive come ‘Mathias Germanus artistarum et medicorum rector’ un’istanza al duca perché sia dato corso alla supplica di Enrico da Corte per l’assegnazione della lettura in teologia. Enrico aveva nel frattempo avuto l’incarico quale supplente del francescano Rolando (da Rovescala?) assente da Pavia perché penitenziere pontificio: ASM, Comuni, 69.

PART TWO

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

F.J. BAKKER

ROELOFF HUUSMAN, SECRETARIUS
DER STADT GRONINGEN 1479/80-1484

Die Stadt Groningen ist bei weitem die wichtigste Stadt im Nordosten der Niederlande, nördlich der IJssel, damals im fünfzehnten und jetzt im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert.¹ Erstmals erwähnt in einer königlichen Urkunde Heinrichs III. im Jahre 1040, ist sie im dreizehnten Jahrhundert eine richtige Stadt geworden. Sie hat Mauern, zwei Kirchen, zwei Bettelordenklöster, sicher zwei Beginenhäuser, ein Spital und *last but not least* als Zeichen ihrer Autonomie ein Stadtsiegel. Über die Zahl der Einwohner wage ich nicht eine Aussage zu machen.

In der zweiten Hälfte des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts fängt eine Zeit der Blüte und Expansion an, die einen Höhepunkt in der zweiten Hälfte des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts findet. Die Stadt hat zu dieser Zeit einen Umfang, der erst am Anfang des siebzehnten Jahrhundert übertroffen wird. Der Stadtplaen, von van Deventer gezeichnet in den sechziger Jahren des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, gibt im grossen und ganzen die Lage zwischen 1470 und 1600 wieder. Seit ungefähr 1460 ist die Stadt mit Verteidigungsmassnahmen gegen die in diesen Gegenden immer grösser werdende Macht der Burgunderherzöge beschäftigt. Im Jahre 1456 wird die Stadt Deventer von Philipp dem Guten belagert, und 1469 wächst der Druck unter Karl dem Kühnen, der die Groninger nach Den Haag einlädt, um seinen Standpunkt anzuhören in der Frage: Gehört die Stadt Groningen zu Friesland oder nicht? Wird diese Frage bejaht, dann wäre Groningen nach Auffassung des Burgunderherzogs eine burgundische Stadt.

Beide Ereignisse haben keine verhängnisvollen Folgen gehabt, aber die Bedrohung von aussen hat die Groninger vorsichtig gemacht. Sie versuchen, mit vielen Mächten Verträge zu schliessen: mit den Städten Deventer, Kampen und Zwolle, mit der Gräfin in Ostfriesland, mit dem Bischof in Münster und mit dem Kaiser. Aber vor allem versucht die Stadt, ihre Macht in den Ommelanden zu stärken; sie bekommt eine Position wie ein (italienischer) Stadtstaat: eine Stadt mit einem Machtbereich, der sich in der Periode um 1480 über Opsterland und Kollumer-

Ich danke Herrn Dr. F. Akkerman, der so freundlich war, mir seine Übersetzungen der Vitae und Briefe Agricolas zur Verfügung zu stellen, und Frau Irmgard Kirsch, die mein Deutsch verbesserte. Die Siglen der Archivalien S. 111.

land in Friesland und über die ganze jetzige Provinz Groningen ausgedehnt hat. In den neunziger Jahren erreicht die Stadt Groningen den Zenith ihrer Macht, die im selben Dezennium aber untergeht. Das alles ist möglich, weil der Landesherr, der Bischof in Utrecht, 200 km entfernt, zu dieser Zeit von Machtansprüchen der Burgunder bedroht und in einen Bürgerkrieg verwickelt ist. Er kan darum selten seine Macht fühlen lasse, meist nur dann, wenn die Stadt ihn, den Bischof, braucht.

Die Zeit des politischen Höhepunkts der Stadt ist ebenso eine Zeit der kulturellen Blüte. Kirchen werden vergrössert, Türme gebaut, Strassen gepflastert. Und draussen vor den Toren der Stadt sind zwei blühende Abteien: die Zisterzienserabtei Aduard und das Benediktinerkloster Selwert oder Siloe. Die Aduarder Akademie mit Teilnehmern aus dem In- und Ausland kam zusammen im ersten Kloster, und Selwert erlebt einen relativen Höhepunkt: ein nicht unwichtiges *scriptorium* hat sich hier in der Zeit des Abtes Hendrik Vries (1444-1480)² entwickelt. Nach dieser Stadt kehrt Roeloff Huusman 1479 oder 1480 zurück und wird ihr *secretarius*.

Im folgenden will ich zunächst prüfen, welche Fakten die Urkunden über die Perioden der Jugendzeit und des Sekretariats Huusmans erwähnen. Zweitens möchte ich die Daten, die wir aus seinen Briefen und den Viten kennen, so weit sie sich auf Groningen beziehen, versuchen aus den Urkunden zu belegen.

Leider ist die Quellenlage in dieser Gegend lückenhaft: Stadtrechnungen, sofern vorhanden, eine fast unerschöpfliche Quelle, gibt es aus dieser Periode nicht, und die im Mittelalter gebildeten Archive sind nur teilweise erhalten. Glücklicherweise ist eines der zwei *Cartularia*, die gleichzeitig Anfang des 16. Jhdts. im Kloster Selwert angefertigt wurden, überliefert worden.³ Gerade in diesem Kartular finden wir etwas über Rudolf Huusman in seiner Jugend, ja faktisch ist das Kartular die einzige diplomatische Quelle für diese Periode seines Lebens. Nur im Staatsarchiv Münster ist eine Urkunde im Original zu finden.⁴

Fassen wir hier auf Grund der urkundlichen Überlieferung zusammen: Ein Hendrik ist zwischen 1430 und 1443 als *Persona* und Pfarrer in Baflo erwähnt.⁵ Er hat 1430 den Titel *her* und *onsen hoeftpriester* und 1443 wird er angedeutet als *mester* und *onsen cureyt*. Er ist also ein Geistlicher. Vielleicht ist er derselbe wie Hendrik de Baflo, der 1427 in Köln

¹ Für die Geschichte der Stadt Groningen und der Provinz Groningen siehe: Formsma e.a., *Historie van Groningen: Stad en Land*.

² Jos. M.M. Hermans, in diesem Band.

³ RAGr. SEL 1.

⁴ ST.A. Münster Domkapitel III W 17.

⁵ 1430: GAGR. STAD RVR 909. 1443: RAGr. FARMSUM 836a R. 79.; SEL 1 R. 57, 58.

immatriculiert, 1431 *magister artium* und im selben Jahr Professor der Artisten-Fakultät ist.⁶

Die *Personae*, die aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert bekannt sind, sind alle Geistliche und Pfarrer in Baflo. Sie werden vom Bischof in Münster ernannt und leisten ihm einen Eid. Diesen Eid kennen wir aus dem Jahre 1461, als Meyster Albert Vriese vereidigt wird.⁷ Es scheint eine rein-administrative Funktion zu sein, in Bezug auf die bischöflichen Güter in dem 35 Pfarreien zählenden Personat.⁸ Die *Persona* ist residenzpflichtig und empfängt und begleitet den bischöflichen Offizial. Sie spricht Recht im Namen des Offizials. Nicht unwichtig ist festzustellen, dass die *Persona* ausserhalb ihrer eigenen Pfarrei siegelt, also Rechtshandlungen perfekt macht.⁹

Im Jahre 1444, am 5. Oktober, tritt als Abt des Klosters Selwert oder Siloë ein Hinrick auf, der am genauesten 1475 genannt wird: *den eersamen heren meister Hinrick Vries van Bafflo abd.*¹⁰

Zwei Bemerkungen hierzu. Die erste ist: Hendrik kommt niemals in den Urkunden als Huusman vor, wie ihn Goswinus van Halen in der von ihm geschriebenen Vita nennt. Er wird immer mit dem Namen Vries bezeichnet. Die Zweite Bemerkung ist, dass hier die Verbindung zwischen Hendrik und Baflo betont wird. Dieser Konnex wird noch deutlicher aus dem Dorsal-Vermerk einer Urkunde, der im Kartular übernommen ist, wo es heisst: *Istos septem forlingos retroscriptos recepimus Anno septuagesimo octavo circa octavas pasche in solucionem debitorum ab Aleydi et filiis eius prius per nos venditos tempore personatus in Bafflo* (verkauft zur Zeit des Personats in Baflo).¹¹ Der Abt Hendrik Vries ist also vorher *Persona* in Baflo gewesen. Der Name Vries ist leider zweideutig: er kann ein Familienname sein, aber auch ein Name, der nur eine geografische Herkunft bezeichnet. Im letzteren Fall ist es aber sehr wahrscheinlich, dass über *de Vries* gesprochen wird. In der Mitte des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts ist es durchaus möglich, Vries als Familiennamen zu betrachten. Es gibt in diesem Jahrhundert ziemlich viele Leute mit dem Namen Vries, die wichtige Ämter bekleidet haben: unseren Hendrik Vries, *Persona* und Abt, Rudolphus Vries, Abt in Aduard, Johan Vries, Rat der Stadt Groningen, Albert Vries, Sekretär der Stadt Groningen und *Persona* in Baflo, und Hendrik Vries, *doctor utriusque iuris, officialis*

⁶ Keussen, *Die alte Universität Köln*, 505.

⁷ ST.A. Münster Domkapitel III W 22.

⁸ UBOFR. 961.

⁹ Z.B. RAGr. SEL 1 R. 243.

¹⁰ RAGr. SEL 1 R. 66 und 291. Für die Geschichte des Klosters Selwert siehe: Damen, *Geschiedenis van de Benediktijnenkloosters..*

¹¹ RAGr. SEL 1 R. 57.

curiae Coloniensis und Professor in Köln. Den letzten zwei Männern werden wir noch näher begegnen.

Abt Hendrik Vries, der sein Kloster 1469 zum Mitglied der Bursfelder Kongregation gemacht hat, hat den Grundbesitz des Klosters sehr ausgedehnt. Man kann sich denken, dass er dazu seine lokalen und regionalen Kenntnisse ausnützte.¹² Seine Nachfolger als *Persona* in Baflo spielen in diesen Geschäften eine bedeutende Rolle: eine stattliche Zahl von Urkunden bezieht sich auf das Gebiet des Personats.

Laut der Bursfelder Generalkapitel-Rezessen scheidet der Abt *sexta nonas octobris* 1480, aus dem Leben.¹³ Rudolf Huusman vermerkt den Tod seines Vaters am 1. Oktober 1480.¹⁴

In einzelnen Urkunden aus dem eher genannten Kartular erscheint Rudolf Huusman als *scolaris* und *clericus*, Student und Geistlicher des Bistums Münster, der ein Teil des Hofs zu Baflo bekommt.¹⁵ Es ist überflüssig, jetzt auf den Hof einzugehen, weil das mehr zu der Geschichte Baflos gehört.

In der für unsere Untersuchungen wichtigsten Urkunde spricht Abt Hendrik über Rudolf als *iuvene suo*.¹⁶ Ich überlasse es den Philologen, das Wort *iuvenis* zu deuten. Die Bedeutung *Sohn* ist aber sehr verführerisch. Einer der Zeugen in derselben Urkunde ist Sicko Sartor (Schroeder), der als *vitricus* (der Stiefvater) des jungen Rodolphus bezeichnet wird. Die Heirat zwischen Sicko und der Mutter Rudolfs ist leider nicht urkundlich belegt. Es gibt in den Selwerder Urkunden zwei Männer mit dem Namen Sicko Schroeder. Der erste ist am 15. Juli 1463 schon tot, der zweite lebt zumindest noch im Jahre 1491.¹⁷ Beide waren in verschiedenen Jahren *wedman* in Baflo, womit eine gerichtliche Funktion bezeichnet wird.¹⁸ Der *wedman* ist anwesend beim Ankauf und Verkauf von Immobilien und ist ein Vertrauensmann der Bevölkerung des Kirchspiels. Er gehört zu den Angesehenen, aber nicht zu der Elite der Häuptlinge. Sehr wohl kann er aber Kirchenvogt gewesen sein, in welchem Amt er das Kirchengeld und Vermögen verwaltet. Rudolf Huusman spielt hierauf in einem Brief an seinen Bruder Johannes Agricola an, dem er mitteilt, dass ihr Bruder Hendrik heiliges Geld gestohlen hat, das vom Vater aufbewahrt wurde.¹⁹

¹² Bursfelder Kongregation, *Die Generalkapitels-Rezesse I*, 43 (Mainz 20-22 Aug. 1469).

¹³ *Ibidem*, I: 191. (Erfurt 2-4 Sept. 1481).

¹⁴ *Ep.* 22.

¹⁵ RAGr. SEL 1 R. 129, 130, 137, 171, 181, 184, 209. ST.A. Münster Domkapitel III W 17.

¹⁶ RAGr. SEL 1 R. 137.

¹⁷ RAGr. SEL 1 R. 222. SEL 1 R. 388.

¹⁸ Z.B. RAGr. SEL 1 R. 208 und 265.

¹⁹ *Ep.* 31. Arnheimer oder Emder Gulden?

Sicko Schroeder verkauft mit seinem Sohn Hendrik am 30. Dezember 1483 dem Nachfolger von Hendrik Vries als Abt in Selwert, Marsilius, ein Grundstück zu Raswert.²⁰ Ist das ein Teil des mütterlichen Erbgutes – die Mutter ist im Jahre 1480 gestorben – das in demselben Brief 31 erwähnt wird, als eine Möglichkeit, die Schuld zu zahlen? Rudolf Huusman teilt in seinem Brief Ende Oktober jedoch mit, dass sein Bruder Hendrik zu ihm gekommen ist und seine Bücher nach Heidelberg bringen wird.²¹ Das kann sehr wohl erst im Frühjahr geschehen sein: der Winter ist nicht gerade die schönste Reisezeit.²²

Man kann annehmen, dass die Familie der Mutter den Namen Huusman trägt. Wenn ja, dann gibt es auch in ihrer Familie Funktionäre wie Johannes Huusman, *wedman* und Mitglied des Vorstandes einer Wassergenossenschaft ‘schepper van een zijlvest’ und Grundbesitzer wie Heeme Huusman.²³ Alles setzt jedoch voraus, dass alle Huusmans zu einer Familie gehören; jedenfalls leben sie in einem Dorfe, Baflo.

Rudolphus hat also keinen Grund sich selber als ein Mitglied der *infima classis* zu sehen.²⁴ Warum er das dennoch schreibt, steht nicht hier zur Debatte. Dazu noch diese Bemerkung: Personen niedriger oder armer Herkunft kennen wir überhaupt nicht aus Urkunden, die sich vornehmlich auf Immobilien, Kauf und Verkauf, wie in dem Kartular aus Selwert, beziehen.

Der Familienname des jüngsten Bruders, Hendrik, ist unbekannt. Das schwarze Schaf der Familie ist ein Sohn Sicke Schroeders. Namenlos bleibt ebenfalls die Schwester, die 1484 stirbt, als Rudolf und Hendrik schon in Heidelberg sind.²⁵

Jetzt bleibt noch ein Problem zu lösen: warum ist der Bruder Rudolfs, Johannes, ein Huusman?

Nun wenden wir uns der zweiten Periode zu, der Periode des Sekretariats.²⁶ Wann und wo wird Rudolf Huusman als *secretarius* angedeutet? Im ganzen nur zweimal, und nur einmal in einem Archivale der Stadt Groningen: in dem Beglaubigungsschreiben, das die Stadt am 6. Oktober 1483 für die Verhandlungen in dem Fall Hokelom ausfertigt,

²⁰ RAGr. SEL 1 R. 346. Das Grundstück ist ein *Juk* gross. Man zahlt 1483 für ein anderes *Juk* in Baflo 30 arn. Gulden. (RAGr. SEL 1 R. 344).

²¹ Ep. 36.

²² Oder ist Hendrik im Dezember schon wieder in Groningen zurück?

²³ RAGr. SEL 1 R. 106. RAGr. W.S.Z. 17 R. 4. (1436). RAGr. SEL 1 R. 192.

²⁴ Ep. 8.

²⁵ Ep. 39.

²⁶ Für die Geschichte der Groninger Archive siehe: Schuitema Meijer, *Historie van het archief der stad Groningen*, besonders S. 26-42.

die in Leiden stattfinden werden.²⁷ Leider ist im Stadtarchiv Leiden nichts über diese Verhandlungen zu finden: die Stadtrechnungen des Jahres 1483 sind verloren gegangen. Die Verhandlungen werden von Rudolf in seinen undatierten Briefen 35 und 36 erwähnt. In Brief 35 teilt er mit, dass er abreist; der Brief ist kurz nach dem 6. Oktober zu datieren. In Brief 36, gerichtet an Alexander Hegius, schreibt er, dass die holländische Mission 15 Tage gedauert hat. Dieser Brief kan also Ende Oktober datiert werden. Die Mitteilung, dass Dordrecht die Initiative genommen hat, kann erklärt werden, weil Dirck van Hokelom das Bürgerrecht dieser Stadt besitzt. Aber ein Dordter Brief mit einer Einladung, ist bis jetzt noch nicht gefunden.

Secretarius wird Rudolf ebenfalls in einem Schreiben der städtischen Regierung Kampen genannt.²⁸ Der Groninger Sekretär hat sich mit einem Vertrag zwischen den Kirchenvögten der Unsrer Lieben Frauen Kirche in Kampen und dem Orgelbauer Johannes in Appingedam befasst. Der letzte ist seinen Verbindlichkeiten nicht nachgekommen: *die orgelen synnen corts nae synen afscheiden hulenden ende onbruyckber geworden*. Die Stadt Groningen könnte vielleicht Meister Johan herbeirufen und ihn auf seine Verpflichtungen aufmerksam machen. Den Ablauf dieser Geschichte kennen wir nicht.

Leider ist auch dieser Kamper Brief undatiert und nur im Entwurf überliefert, aber er kann auf Grund der »Umgebung« auf Ende März - Anfang April 1484 datiert werden. Vielleicht kann das *negotiolum*, das Agricola in einem Brief erwähnt, seinem Freund Adolf Occo geschrieben am 11. Oktober (1482), mit diesen Kamper Bemühungen in Beziehung stehen.²⁹

Wahrscheinlich kann auch die folgende Meldung in den Deventer *Cameraersrekeningen* des Jahres 1480 auf Huusman bezogen werden: *den secretarius van Groningen (...) II taken*, ein gebräuchlicher Weinumtrunk der Stadt für geschätzte Besucher.³⁰ Man kann schliessen, dass Rudolf zwischen dem 15. und 30. Juni 1480 einige Tage in Deventer gewesen ist. Er wird auf dem Wege nach Köln, Brüssel und an den Hof Maximilians gewesen sein.³¹ Ein anderes Mal schreiben die Groninger Behörden an *meyster Rolove*, nur in einer Abschrift erhalten, eine Instruktion, mutmasslich de dato 30. November 1481, für die Verhandlungen, die ihr Beamter am Hofe des Herzoges von *Oestentrycke*, wie Maximilian bezeichnet wird,

²⁷ GAGR. STAD RVR 237.

²⁸ GA KAMPEN STAD 219 p. 367.

²⁹ Ep. 26.

³⁰ GA DEVENTER STAD Cameraarsrekeningen 1480 f. 7v.

³¹ Epp. 21, 22.

führt und wenn möglich vor Weihnachten abzuschliessen hat.³² Ein Resultat zeigen diese Verhandlungen erst 1482 in dem Freien Geleit des Kaisers Maximilian am 3. August für den Groninger ausgestellt.³³ Hierüber berichtet Rudolf in seinem Brief 26.

In der Literatur über Agricola ist man sich nicht einig: ist Rudolf Sekretär oder Syndicus? Über die Entwicklung dieser beiden Begriffe in Groningen möchte ich jetzt einige Worte sagen.

Es steht nun fest, dass Huusman *secretarius* genannt wird. Der erste Schreiber der Stadt Groningen wird im Jahre 1322 als *notarius* erwähnt.³⁴ Das Personal der städtischen Kanzlei im Rathaus vermehrt sich allmählich; man findet in den Urkunden einen *secretarius* erstmals im Jahre 1439³⁵ und neben ihm einen oder mehrere Schreiber.

Die Schreiber und Sekretäre gehören meistens, auch wenn das nicht immer nachweisbar ist, dem geistlichen Stand an und können dadurch als Notare und als Vikare auftreten. In Groningen ist eine Verbindung der Stadtsekretäre mit dem Altar des Heiligen Johann Baptists bis auf Willem Frederiks und Rudolf Agricola festzustellen.

Die Geschäfte des Sekretariats vermehren sich und der *secretarius* selber ist sehr oft zu diplomatischen Verhandlungen unterwegs. Er kann deswegen die tägliche Arbeit nicht bewältigen. In der Zeit des Sekretärs Agricola laufen die Verhandlungen im Fall van Hokelom, mit dem Bischof in Münster, mit den *Ommelanden*, ausserdem hat die Stadt Schwierigkeiten mit einem der wichtigsten Häuptlinge Johan Rengers ten Post. In den Briefen Agricolas wird nur über den Fall van Hokelom berichtet. Wir können uns hier kurz fassen: es ist eine sehr langweilige Geschichte, die seit den fünfziger Jahren spielt. Es gibt zwei Parteien: ein starrköpfiges Groningen und einen schlauen Mann, der alle juristischen Möglichkeiten ausschöpft, der nicht nur Schwierigkeiten mit der Stadt Groningen hat, sondern auch in Dordrecht und Amsterdam, und der sein Recht in allen Instanzen sucht, vom einfachen Schiedsgericht bis zum Femegericht. Er, Dirck, bringt seine Sache 1468 vor den burgundischen Herzog Karl, der vielleicht in diesem Fall ein zusätzliches Mittel sieht, um seine Politik in Hinsicht auf die Einverleibung der Stadt Groningen durchzuführen. Eine Genehmigung, um Groninger Kaufleute als Geiseln zu nehmen, wird ausgestellt. Die Festnahme der Kaufleute geschieht in Herzogenbusch. Auf diese Schwierigkeiten spielt Agricola in seinem

³² GAGr. STAD RVR 1118. Hier steht *meyster Rolove gescreven* und nicht *Meyster Rolove subscriptis* wie Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 137 sagt.

³³ GAGr. STAD RVR 237.

³⁴ GAGr. PK 520 R. 2.

³⁵ GAGr. AHS 234^{II} R. 47.

³⁶ Ep. 24.

Brief an Barbarianus an: *si modo tutus commeatus fiat mercatoribus nostris in Brabantiam.*³⁶ Erst 1486 hat Groningen sich in die Niederlage gefügt und die Familie van Hokelom zufriedengestellt.

Rudolf Huusman ist amtshalber viel gereist; außerdem hat er die Möglichkeit gehabt und sich die Zeit genommen, andere nicht geschäftliche Reisen zu machen.³⁷ Während der Abwesenheit des Sekretärs werden die Geschäfte in Groningen von Helfern weitergeführt; z.B. vom *subsecretarius*, der zuerst auftaucht in 1476.³⁸

Rudolf selber nennt Johannes als seinen Helfer, den Bruder Adolf Occos. Vielleicht ist er zu identifizieren mit dem Johannes Scriver, der gerade in den Jahren 1482 und 1483 in Groningen als Notar wirksam ist.³⁹ Dieser Johannes ist nicht identisch mit dem Johannes, der verheiratet ist mit Bela, die die Schwester Rudolfs die Weberei lehrt.⁴⁰ Dieser letzte Johannes ist vielleicht Johannes Geerds, in der städtischen Kanzlei tätig als Stadtschreiber mit seinem Kollege 'Detmaer de scriver'.⁴¹ Es ist also nicht richtig, Rudolf Huusman als Stadtschreiber zu bezeichnen.⁴²

Die Tätigkeiten als Sekretär oder Notar sind für die Gelehrten dieser Zeit gar nicht ungewöhnlich. Anthonius Vrie/Liber kommt in den siebziger Jahren als Notar jedenfalls in Groningen und Kampen vor.⁴³ Wo er sich Anfang 1480 befindet, als Agricola ihn besucht, ist mir nicht bekannt, aber 1484 ist er Stadtsekretär in Kampen.⁴⁴ Und Rudolfs Bruder ist Sekretär der Gräfin Theda in Ost-Friesland und später Landrichter.⁴⁵

Der *secretarius* ist anfangs der einzige Funktionär mit einer akademischen Ausbildung in Stadtdiensten. Im Laufe des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts erscheint im Nordosten der Niederlande der Arzt, der *Doctor medicinae*. Groningen hat in den achtziger Jahren seinen ersten Stadtmedicus: Jacobus Spyck, *clericus coloniensis, doctor medicinae*, Professor in Köln und *physicus* unserer Stadt, *protophysicus* nennt Willem Frederiks ihn.⁴⁶ Nachweisbar der erste Akademiker als Sekretär ist *magister Johannes*

³⁷ Siehe: Waterbolt, »Reizen en geschiedenis in de vroeg-moderne tijd«.

³⁸ GAGr. STAD RVR 878.6.

³⁹ GAGr. STAD RVR 1118; AHS 318 R. 148; PK 522 R. 322; PK 427 R. 330. RAGr. OC 66 R. 47.

⁴⁰ Ep. 25.

⁴¹ GAGr. AHS 195 R. 150, 161. GAGr. HG 101 R. 175.

⁴² So Stupperich, »Agricola, Rudolph«.

⁴³ GAGr. STAD RVR 877, 1092², 118.

⁴⁴ GA KAMPEN STAD 11 F.

⁴⁵ UBOFR. 921 usw. und 1281 usw.; in Groningen GAGr VC 26 R. 66.

⁴⁶ GAGr. STAD RVR 891; PK 414 R. 460. Willem Frederiks, *De Frisiorum situ* etc., in Zuidema, *Wilhelmus Frederici*, 148.

de Emeda 1439, zugleich der erste der als Sekretär angedeutet wird.⁴⁷ Vor Rudolf Huusman sind weiter bekannt als Sekretäre: Meister Albert Vriese, Meister Hendrik Stoter und Meister Willem Frederiks, *doctor artium* und *doctor medicinae*, in Ferrara promoviert und anwesend bei der *Oratio Agricolas* in 1476.

Meister Albert Vriese sind wir schon begegnet; er ist nach seinem Sekretariat *Persona* in Baflo geworden. Leider gibt es keine Beweise, dass er zu der Familie des Abtes Hendrik Vries und deshalb zu der Familie Agricolas gehört.

Der zweite Mann Hendrik Stoter hat in Köln studiert, war *Professor iuris* in dieser Stadt (1459-1461) und in derselben Zeit *Provisor* des Heilig-Geist-Spitals in Groningen.⁴⁸ Er hat Renten-Einkünfte in der Stadt Köln und in Groningen.⁴⁹ Jedenfalls ist er 1468 Sekretär der Stadt Groningen und führt die Verhandlungen mit Karl dem Kühnen in Den Haag (1469).⁵⁰ Er ist sehr viel unterwegs. In seiner Zeit gibt es zwei Änderungen in der städtischen Kanzlei. Die erste haben wir schon erwähnt: der *subsecretarius* tritt an. Die zweite Änderung ist wichtiger. In 1474 wird Meister Hendrik Vreeese *vicarius* des Altar des Heiligen Johann Baptists und verspricht *dat hie em mit synen Rade ende guden willen altyt truweliken wille bistandich end behulplick wesen na all syn vermogen*.⁵¹

Hendrik Vreeese ist *doctor utriusque iuris* und *officialis curiae Coloniensis* und ebenfalls Professor in Köln.⁵² Er ist aus Groningen; sein Vater Meynold wird im Kartular aus Selwert genannt, wenn er, verwitwet, 1455 für seine Kinder Hendrik und Hebbele eine Rente kauft, die er 1461 dann dem Abt Hendrik Vries in Selwert weiterverkauft.⁵³ 1476 stirbt der Jurist aus Köln. Seine Funktion als *vicarius* wird von Hendrik Stoter mit einer ähnlichen Versprechung übernommen: dass er *den borghermesteren ende Raet der stad van Groningen daer sie an in begherende sint in redeliken denst nicht weygheren sal*.⁵⁴ Willem Frederiks, der spätere Pfarrer der Sankt Martinskirche, nennt sich selber *secretarius* im Anfangsinitial eines Buches, das er 1477 gekauft hat.⁵⁵ Anzunehmen ist, dass Stoter aus dem Amt geschieden und statt Sekretär jetzt juristischer Berater der Stadt geworden ist. In

⁴⁷ GAGr. AHS 234^{II} R. 47.

⁴⁸ Keussen, *Die alte Universität Köln*, 430; GAGr. HG Rr. 126-143.

⁴⁹ GA KÖLN STADT BRIEFEINGÄNGE 1481 up sunte Bonifacius avent. RA OVERIJSEL KLOOSTER SIBCULO Cart. II.310.

⁵⁰ GA KAMPEN STAD 9 p. CXVIII.

⁵¹ GAGr. STAD RVR 877.

⁵² Keussen, *Die alte Universität Köln*, 507.

⁵³ RAGr. SEL 1. R. 214. GAGr. STAD RVR 1092^c. Ein Freies Geleit für ihn in: Keussen, *Regesten und Auszüge zur Geschichte der Universität Köln 1388-1559*, 196.

⁵⁴ GAGr. STAD RVR 878.

⁵⁵ UBGr. de Roos 34.

dieser Funktion wird er 1477 bezeichnet als *procurator* und *sindicus*.⁵⁶ Es ist das erste Mal dass diese Terminologie überhaupt angewendet wird.

Stoter stirbt in den neunziger Jahren, aber hat in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens keine Aufträge der Stadt mehr erfüllt; er war schliesslich Proost in Hummerke.⁵⁷ Agricola wird niemals *sindicus* genannt, er heisst *secretarius*. Syndici sind keine Beamte: es sind Männer mit ausserordentlichen Qualitäten, die einen Spezialauftrag der Stadt zu erfüllen haben, und sie werden meistens *ad hoc* ernannt. Es ist möglich, dass es gleichzeitig zwei gibt, die nicht nur *sindicus* genannt werden, sondern auch in einem Zug *nuncius* und *orator*.⁵⁸ Auch ein Bürgermeister oder *secretarius* kann *sindicus* sein. Der erste Syndicus als Beamter der Stadt wird erst 1548 erwähnt.⁵⁹

Jetzt kommen wir zu unserer zweiten und letzten Aufgabe: einige Anmerkungen zu den Briefen Agricolas und den *Vitae* zu machen, Anmerkungen aus der Sicht eines Regionalhistorikers. Die *Vita Agricolae*, geschrieben von Goswinus van Halen, macht keinen sehr genauen Eindruck. Agricolas Geburtsjahr ist hier 1436 statt 1443/1444; der Name Bluminga der Brüder Bartoldus und Laurentius muss richtig Buning lauten; es ist, bis jetzt jedenfalls, nicht bewiesen, dass der Bruder Johann der Typograph Rudolfs gewesen ist: als Mitarbeiter kann er natürlich zusammen mit seinem Bruder nach Löwen, Brüssel und Nimwegen gereist sein,⁶⁰ aber schon 1482 ist er nach Ostfriesland abgereist; in Groningen hat sich weder im fünfzehnten noch im sechzehnten Jahrhundert vor 1597 ein Drucker niedergelassen (s. jetzt F. Akkerman in diesem Band, Fussnote 46). Ausserdem ist es m.E. erlaubt, an der Mitteilung des Goswinus, dass der Vater Hendrik Huusman heisst und dass er kein Geistlicher ist, zu zweifeln und die urkundlichen Nachrichten zu akzeptieren, dass er Hendrik Vries heisst und Geistlicher ist. Die Frage, warum Goswinus seine Aussage macht, kann hier nicht beantwortet werden. Jedenfalls schreibt Goswinus seinen Brief mit der Vita, als alle Ereignisse mindestens vierzig Jahre zurückliegen. Er selber hat diese nur teilweise als junger Bursche mitgemacht. Seine Quelle, Willem Frederiks, ist über siebzig Jahre alt. Zwar haben sie beide längere Zeit zusammen in Groningen gelebt und gearbeitet, aber die Vita ist auf Anregung Melanchthons entstanden.

⁵⁶ GAGr. STAD RVR 879.

⁵⁷ RA OVERIJSEL KLOOSTER SIBCULO Cart. II p. 310. (1499).

⁵⁸ GAGr. STAD RVR 976. 20+. Druck in: *Pax Groningana*, 96 und 107.

⁵⁹ GAGr. RF 1548. 3.

⁶⁰ Ep. 15.

Von Pleningen, Geldenhouwer und Melanchthon haben nicht identische Meinungen über das Ansehen der Familie Agricolas; die Ergebnisse der Urkunden sind schon oben ausgewertet worden: keine Elite, keine *infima classis*, aber eine gut situierte Familie, geschätzt im eigenen Kreis.

Über einige Personen, die Rudolf in seinen Briefen erwähnt, kann noch etwas angemerkt werden. Der erste, dem wir begegnen, ist Wessel Gansfort oder Basilius von Groningen.⁶¹ Er lebt im Olden Convent und praktiziert nicht mehrt, so schreibt Agricola.⁶² Dieser Konvent ist ein Kloster der Tertiärerinnen, dem Utrechter Kapitel des Dritten Ordens angeschlossen. Drei Bemerkungen zu diesem Kloster.^{62a} Erstens: Der Konvent ist liiert mit den Brüdern des Gemeinen Lebens. Er spielt eine nicht unwichtige Rolle bei der Gründung des Fraterhauses in Groningen,⁶³ und die Beichtväter des Konvents sind Mitglieder dieses Hauses gewesen, so z.B. der Pater Theodericus Goch, der in der Zeit Wessels dieses Amt innehatte, aber erstmals Provisor der Brüder gewesen is.⁶⁴ Zweitens: Der Konvent hat ein Paterhaus, *curia presbyterorum*, mit einem *refectorium sacerdotum*.⁶⁵ Neben Wessel haben hier mehrere Geistliche gewohnt. Der Konvent fungiert als Altersheim für Geistliche. Drittens: In diesem Kloster befindet sich ein Annen-Altar wie im Kloster Aduard, im Dominikanerkloster und in der Unsrer Lieben Frauen Kirche.⁶⁶ Vielleicht hat diese Verehrung der heiligen Anna in Groningen eine Rolle gespielt, die Rudolf veranlasste, sein Gedicht *Anna mater* zu schreiben? Einen JudocusAltar gibt es in Groningen nicht.⁶⁷

In den Briefen 34 und 35 finden wir noch eine Anzahl von Groninger Personen. Die Gesandten, die nach Amersfoort geschickt werden, Assuerus Cater und Garmodus Allema, sind beide in verschiedenen Jahren Bürgermeister der Stadt gewesen.⁶⁸ Garmodus war ausserdem noch 1494 *syndicus et procurator*; er hatte also einen Spezialauftrag.⁶⁹ Hubbelding, der Reisegefährte Agricolas nach Leiden, war ebenfalls Bürgermeister und einige Jahren *kastelein* in Kollumerland.⁷⁰

⁶¹ Weiss, »The six lives of Rudolph Agricola«, 33; er meint, dass Wessel und Basilius zwei verschiedene Personen sind.

⁶² *Ep.* 26.

^{62a} Sehe Bakker, *Bedelorden en begijnen*.

⁶³ GAGr. KFH 27 R. 40.

⁶⁴ RAGr. SEL 1. R. 335. (1481); NIENOORD 4. (1486). GAGr. KFH 3 R. 115 (1465).

⁶⁵ GAGr. PK 404 R. 175; TER APEL 1 R. 35.

⁶⁶ OC: RAGr. OC 33 R. 86. (1506). OP: OP GENT Ms BROUWER p. 119. (1513). ULF Kirche: GAGr. PK 273 R. 577. (1509).

⁶⁷ Katharina ist die Patronin des Klosters Selwert.

⁶⁸ Für die Bürgermeister der Stadt Groningen siehe: Emmius, *De agro Frisiae*, 265 FF.

⁶⁹ GAGr. STAD RVR 931.

⁷⁰ GAGr. STAD RVR 514.

In den Briefen 32 bis 36 aus den Jahren 1483 und 1484 wird die Pest erwähnt. Huusman hat Angst davor, aber er bleibt innerhalb der Stadtmauer; man findet das leichtsinnig. In Zeiten der Pest sollte man die Stadt verlassen. Man kann sich fragen: handelt man noch immer wie vor 140 Jahren, wie in der Zeit Boccaccios? In einem Brief an die Stadt Deventer schreiben Bürgermeister und Rat der Stadt Groningen *Soe yst, besondere guede vrenden, dat onsse vrenden vanden Rade een deell vander handt buyten der stad sint vermiddes der pestelencie em buyten holden.*⁷¹ Und die Schöffen und der Rat in Deventer kommen an einem Tag in Diepenveen zusammen *omder pestolencien willen.*⁷² In dieser Periode der Pest stirbt der Geistliche Rudolphus Rint.⁷³ Er, *presbiter in ecclesia beati Martini*, besitzt keine gelehrtten Bücher, aber *breviaria* und ein Missale, das er der Sankt Walburgiskirche vermachte. Sein Testament ist datiert am 29. September 1483:⁷⁴ Brief 35 muss also nach diesem Tag datiert werden.

An derselben Seuche ist *Elisabeth in cygno* ernsthaft erkrankt.⁷⁵ Das Haus »der Schwan« ist eines der ganz wenigen, von dem wir wissen, dass es einen Namen trug. Es stand dort, wo jetzt die Zwanestraat anfängt, von dem Grote Markt aus gesehen. In dieser Zeit, 1480, kennen wir einen *Symon inden Swane*, Gatte oder Vater der Elisabeth?⁷⁶

Eine abschliessende Bemerkung: die Furie Agricolas wird von Van Halen Ana genannt. Ana ist keine normale Form für Anna; es wäre möglich, dass hier ein Lesefehler vorliegt und ein Abkürzungszeichen übersehen worden ist. Aber es gibt eine andere Lösung. Agricola hat sich selber darüber geäussert,⁷⁷ als er seinem Freund Hegius vorschlug, *rubeus* bei Plinius in *rubens* zu ändern. Man lese *Ava*, ein ganz normaler Name mit Diminutiv: *Afke*.

⁷¹ GA DEVENTER STAD MA 6. (1484: des woensdages nae translationis...).

⁷² GA DEVENTER STAD Cameraarsrekeningen 1483 F. 4v.

⁷³ Ep. 35.

⁷⁴ GAGr. STAD RVR 881.

⁷⁵ Ep. 35.

⁷⁶ GAGr. RF. 1480.24.

⁷⁷ Ep. 21.

SIGLEN DER ARCHIVALIEN

CART.	Cartularium.
GA	Gemeente-archief.
GAGr.	Gemeente-archief Groningen.
TER APEL	Archiv des Klosters Ter Apel. Inventar in Manuskript.
AHS	Archiv der Prokuratorien der »Arme Huissitten«.
	Inventar in Manuskript.
HG	Archiv des »Heilige Geest Gasthuis«. Inventar in Manuskript.
KFH	Archiv des »Klerken- en Fraterhuis«.
	A.T. Schuitema Meijer, E. Van Dijk, <i>Inventaris van de archieven van het Klerken- of Fraterhuis te Groningen en de daarmee samenhangende stichtingen</i> , s.l. 1973.
PK	Archiv der »Parochiekerken«. Inventar in Manuskript.
RVR	Rood voor de Reductie.
VC	Archiv der »Vrouw Menolda en Vrouw Sywen conventen«. Inventar in Manuskript.
MA	Middeleeuws Archief.
OP Gent	Archiv des Dominikanerklosters in Gent.
	A.M. Bogaerts, E.M. Cresens, <i>Inventaris van het dominikaans archief... II. Kloosterarchieven van Lier, Leuven en Gent</i> (Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der dominikanen in de Nederlanden 17), Leuven 1977.
R	Regest.
RA	Rijksarchief.
RAGr	Rijksarchief Groningen.
FARMSUM	Archiv des Hauses Farmsum.
	C.P.L. Rutgers, 'Inventaris van het Huisarchief Farmsum', <i>Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks oude archieven</i> (1900), 417-778.
NIENOORD	Archiv des Hauses Nienoord.
	J.A. Feith, <i>Inventaris van het Huisarchief van de Nienoord, gedeponeerd in het oud-archief in Groningen</i> , Groningen 1890.
OC	Archiv des »Olde Convent«. Inventar in Manuskript.
SEL	Archiv des Klosters Selwert. Inventar in Manuskript.
WSZ	Archiv des »Winsummer- en Schaphalsterzijlvest«.
	J.A. Feith, <i>Catalogus der inventarissen van de archieven der voormalige zijlvestenijen en dijkrechten in de provincie Groningen</i> , Groningen 1901.
RF	Register Feith.
	H.O. Feith, <i>Register van het archief van Groningen</i> , 9 delen, Groningen 1853-1877.
STAD	Stadsarchief.
ST.A.	Staatsarchiv.
UBOFR.	Urkundenbuch Ostfriesland.
	E. Friedländer, <i>Ostfriesisches Urkundenbuch</i> , 2 Bde., Emden 1878-1881.

C.H. EDSKES

RUDOLPH AGRICOLA AND THE ORGAN OF THE *MARTINIKERK* IN GRONINGEN

The almost legendary fame of the organ of the *Martinikerk* of Groningen even today can to an important degree be traced back to the person of Rudolph Agricola. Like many legendary matters, this one also is based on tradition and not on authentic data.

The first report which connects Agricola's name with the origins of the organ in the *Martinikerk* appears about a century after his activities as municipal secretary.¹ This report, which is later repeated by many authors, suggests that Agricola himself built the instrument. By this time the legend had already begun to develop. It is clear that Agricola could not have built the organ with his own hands, even together with others, in addition to his no doubt full agenda as secretary of the city of Groningen. An operation of such magnitude as the rebuilding and enlargement of the Martini-organ requires more time than he could have had available. Besides, strict rules were then in force with regard to the practice of a trade, and they would have made this kind of extemporaneous activity impossible.

The building or rebuilding of an important organ was in these times an event of the first order within the community and also far beyond. It is not strange that it was freshly remembered even after the lapse of a century.

Although Agricola cannot possibly have built the organ himself, the reports mentioned earlier indicate that he did make an important contribution. A letter from the city council of Kampen to the magistrates of Groningen tells us that Agricola had been at Kampen around 1480 for the commissioning of a major reconstruction of the organ of Our Lady's Church there. Agricola's presence shows that he served as an adviser to this project. This letter tells us that the actual work was contracted to master Johan, organbuilder *then Damme*; this last expression refers to the town of Appingedam.² The letter is undated but was most probably written in 1481. By that time the organ in Kampen had already almost

¹ Hic (*sc. Agricola*) organum propria manu, miro vocalium concentu, grataque auribus melodia suaem (*sic*), in aedibus sacris Diui Martini Groningae construxit...’ (Kempius, *De origine ... Frisiae*, 1588, p. 154).

² Kampen, Gemeentearchief (= Municipal Archives), Inv. nr. 219, Minuten II, no. 367.

been completed; thus Agricola's visit for the signing of the contract must have taken place no later than 1480.

According to this letter, it was impossible for the instrument to be used because master Johan had not finished his work in accordance with the contract. Master Johan was now staying at Groningen. Thus the magistrates of Kampen request the city council of Groningen to remind him of his obligations and to send him to Kampen without delay. Master Johan's precipitate departure from Kampen and the fact that Agricola is explicitly mentioned in the letter suggest an important project at Groningen involving both men.

There is little doubt that this project had to do with the organ of the *Martinikerk* of Groningen. Archivalia in Groningen which could confirm this have been lost. The Kampen letter is the only, albeit indirect source. In combination with the reports based on tradition, the information in this letter offers sufficient evidence for the involvement of Agricola and master Johan in the rebuilding and enlargement of this organ.

Johan then Damme resided in Appingedam, and he had taken religious vows. Unfortunately little more is known about him because pre-reformation church records in the northern Netherlands have largely disappeared. We do know, however, that in 1484 master Johan signed a contract for building a new organ in Genemuiden. He worked on this instrument with three assistants for eighteen weeks and finished it in 1485.³ These meager data lead to the conclusion that master Johan was an organbuilder of more than regional significance. The fact that Agricola was his adviser at least twice during the short period of his municipal secretariate shows that master Johan must have been not only his favorite organbuilder but also a highly competent one.

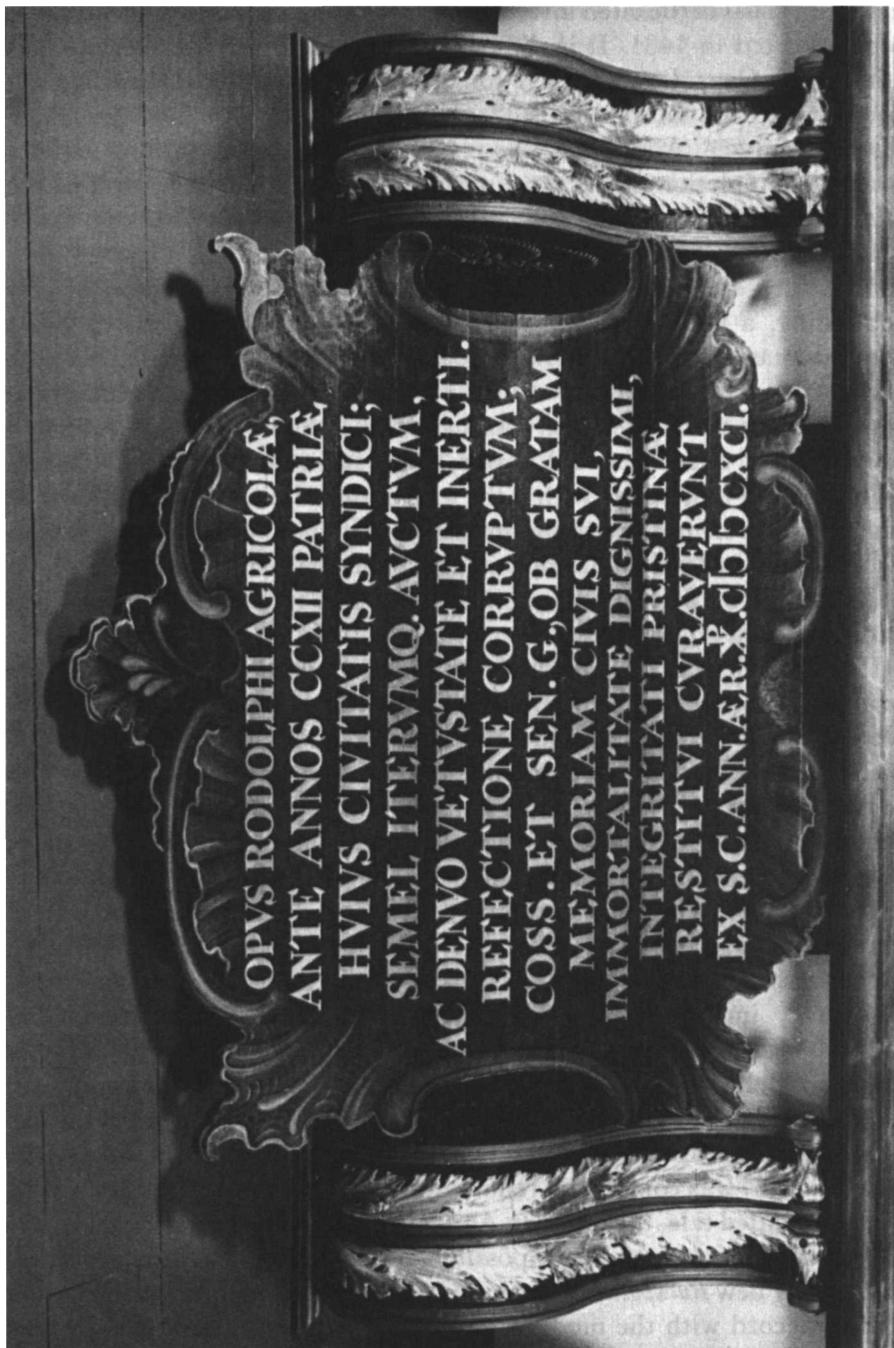
Just as little is known about Agricola's rôle as adviser. He must have acquainted himself with the newest developments in organ building during his travels abroad and particularly as an organist at Ferrara. No doubt this will have influenced the nature of his rôle as adviser. It may also be assumed that the projects which he guided were among the most advanced in the northern Netherlands. Twenty years later, when a new organ was being planned for St. Michael's Church at Zwolle, one of the stops of the organ in Our Lady's Church at Kampen was cited as an example.⁴

³ Nanninga Uitterdijk, 'Nieuwe klokken en een nieuw orgel voor de kerk te Genemuiden', 375-376.

⁴ Zwolle, Gemeentearchief (= Municipal Archives), *Boek van aeneming van de Stad-deneren*, fol. 208 *sub littera O.*



III. The baroque front of the organ in St. Martin's Church.



IV. Cartouche on the organ in St. Martin's Church, 1691.

On the basis of the cited information it is clear that work on the Martini organ started in 1481. It is difficult to determine when the organ was completed. Considering master Johan's energetic approach elsewhere, it could have been finished in 1482, well before Agricola's final departure from Groningen. Apparently the reason for this organ-building activity was the completion of the nave and the first phase of the tower of the *Martinikerk* in 1482.

Already before 1450, the *Martinikerk* had been rebuilt as a hall-church; it was then two bays shorter than now. On the completion of this rebuilding, a large organ was placed against the wall of the original, romanesque tower. A black framework – which was recovered during the recent restoration and is now still partly visible – was painted around the organ on the vault. Between 1452 and 1464 the church was extended towards the west. The old tower, now surrounded by the church, collapsed in 1468, taking with it the tops of the adjoining five vaults. The organ, however, remained undamaged but it could no longer be played because the bellows had stood in the tower. After this catastrophe a decision was made to erect a new tower and to repair the five damaged vaults.

The church was repaired quickly enough but the rebuilding of the organ had to wait until the present tower was completed. The bellows were again to be housed in the tower but this was impossible during its construction. Parts of the dismantled instrument were re-used. The old organ had probably been built before 1450 and it no longer met the requirements of 1482, so Agricola and master Johan used only those parts which fitted into the new design satisfactorily.

At the same time a new organ balcony was erected against the wall of the new tower. Parts of its structural beams are still preserved. When the organ was dismantled in 1971, sections of the balcony floor were also recovered, including beautiful panels painted in gothic style. The original form of the balcony can be determined fairly accurately from this material. Behind the pilasters and the moldings of the present main case, which dates from 1542, the partly still polychromed framework of the old main case was also discovered. It may be assumed that the *Rückpositiv* (choir organ) was completely renewed in 1481-1482. According to an old but still related tale, the organ in Agricola's time had consisted solely of a *Rückpositiv*. Of course this is impossible, but it can serve to indicate that a completely new *Rückpositiv* was built under Agricola's supervision. This is also in accord with the modern ideas of that time. In view of the great height of the old main case, the organ must have had an *Oberwerk* (a department placed in the upper part of the main case) as well. In those days the completed organ would have been a generous instrument with

three manuals. The main manual was a *blokwerk*: the individual ranks of pipes could not be turned on and off, they all spoke together, *en bloc*. The *Rückpositiv* and the *Oberwerk* did have separated stops. The pedal keyboard was permanently coupled to the main manual.

Master Johan and Agricola thus created an instrument which must have been among the most advanced in the Netherlands at that time. When one considers and hears those parts of Agricola's organ which are still preserved in the instrument today, one is struck by the fine craftsmanship and its exceptional quality of tone. It is quite understandable that such an instrument made a lasting impression.

Upon its completion, the organ in the *Martinikerk* was probably the largest one in the northern Netherlands. It was surpassed in size only by the new organ in St. Michael's Church at Zwolle which was to be completed in 1505. The design for this organ must have been strongly inspired by the *Martini*-organ.

During its existence, the *Martini*-organ has been radically altered and rebuilt to an average of two times each century. So it is most remarkable that there are still parts from the earliest period of its history. The builders' high artistic quality and great craftsmanship inspired later builders to continue in their tradition. Thus this instrument achieved its present stature, historically and artistically viewed, as one of the most important instruments in the Netherlands. For this reputation it is deeply indebted to its *auctor intellectualis* Rudolph Agricola.

RUDOLF E.O. EKKART

THE PORTRAITS OF RUDOLPH AGRICOLA

Looking for portraits of fifteenth-century scholars is mostly a very disappointing activity. Very often no portrait is known and if a portrait is mentioned there is a great chance that it is only an unreliable phantasy portrait of much later date. A first glance, however, at the iconography of Rudolph Agricola is surprising, because some dozens of portraits from at least several centuries have come down to us.¹ Agricola seems to be one of the very few exceptions to the rule that the features of nearly no important Dutchman of the fifteenth century have been transmitted. But a closer look shows that none of the painted or printed portraits of Agricola which we know was made during his lifetime; and there are significant differences between the images that are recorded. It is the task of the iconographer to arrange the material that he can find and to test as far as possible the reliability of the portraits delivered. Since no study of Agricola's portraits has been made before and the most recent publication dealing at some length with a number of his likenesses was published in 1843, this conference and exhibition afforded a welcome opportunity to discuss the problems of the iconography of Agricola.²

Our first task was to collect as many items as possible and to trace facts about the time in which they were made and the function they had. The majority of the engraved portraits was made for the illustration of books and it is necessary to discover in which book they were published in order to fix the date of the engraving; knowledge about the publication for which they were made will sometimes also help indicate which other portraits were used as a model, since most engraved portraits of famous men of past centuries were copied from other portraits and have only an indirect value for the iconography of the sitter. When the portrait that was used for the copy is still known, the copy itself is only an interesting source for disseminating visual knowledge about the sitter. When, however, the likeness that has been used no longer exists or cannot be traced, the copy will be the substitute for the lost portrait. In that case we can only hope that the artist who made the portrait executed a faithful

¹ Moes, *Iconographia Batava* I, no. 84; Van Someren, *Beschrijvende catalogus*, nos. 31-38; and the documentation, brought together at the Iconographisch Bureau in The Hague.

² Tresling, *Rudolphus Agricola*; also Ekkart, 'De portretten van Rudolph Agricola' (the references to the literature have been erroneously omitted in the catalogue).



V. Portrait of Agricola by Lucas Cranach, c. 1530.

copy; unfortunately this is very often not the case. Sometimes, especially for prints, it is possible to make a kind of genealogical tree of all the portraits derived directly and indirectly from the same original portrait, showing that some items are only copies of copies and others direct copies of a lost original. During my study of the portraits of Agricola the majority of the paintings and prints which we know were arranged in such a way that it was possible to prove that the portrait type of Agricola with a small nose is due to the phantasy of an eighteenth-century German engraver, who copied an earlier portrait and embellished the physiognomy of the sitter according to his own standards of male beauty.³

One portrait – the painting in the Museum of Franeker – has long been thought of as a painting from life, but it must be a copy of the second half of the sixteenth century.⁴ It is however the oldest version of a kind of portrait that has been copied many times. Arranging the material for an iconography of Rudolph Agricola, it is possible to divide the portraits into two groups, deriving from two different prototypes which have been lost. In spite of the differences between the two groups there is enough resemblance for the possibility that they represent the same man. Unfortunately the literary descriptions of Agricola's appearance are too general to vouch for the reliability of these portraits. We can nevertheless be sure that the prototypes of these portraits were no phantasy but rather reliable likenesses, especially since the appearance of the sitter on both types does not seem to be idealized. Besides other humanist activities Agricola also painted, and it is possible that one of the prototypes or even both of them were selfportraits, perhaps miniatures in manuscripts.

Another important indication for the reliability of both types is given by the rather early date of the oldest versions and the functions which these portraits had. The Franeker painting, for example, comes probably from Gerard Agricola, who was a great-nephew of Rudolph; at the end of the sixteenth century Gerard Agricola bequeathed it to the Franeker orphanage which he founded. For Gerard Agricola the Franeker portrait must have been an acceptable likeness of his famous great-uncle. The oldest versions deriving from the other prototype are even earlier than the Franeker painting and were made in the years around 1530 in the circles of the University of Wittenberg.

The majority of the later portraits of Agricola, the painted as well as the printed ones, belonged to series of portraits of famous and learned men. The topic of the *uomini famosi* found its definite pictorial form in the sixteenth century, above all due to the activities of Paolo Giovio, bishop

³ Mezzotin by J.J. Haid, reproduced in the *Exposition Catalogue UBG* 1985, 82.

⁴ *Expos. Cat. UBG* 1985, 44 (cat. no. 1).

of Nocera, who began to collect portraits of famous men in 1521, when he was living in Rome.⁵ In well over 30 years Giovio brought together 360 pictures and even during his lifetime these paintings were copied for other collectors who wanted to establish their own galleries of famous men. Even more important than these painted copies are the prints made after the paintings in Giovio's collection for an edition of his book on the lives of renowned men. The first edition was published shortly before Giovio's death in 1552; it was illuminated by only a few woodcuts. However, in the years 1575-7 a new edition with about 200 woodcuts after portraits from Giovio's collection was published by the German artist Tobias Stimmer. During this period similar books were published; good examples are the Antwerp editions of 1567 and 1572 with copper engravings of portraits made by Philips Galle which perhaps derived from a series of painted copies of Giovio's collection.⁶ The prints by Stimmer and Galle enjoyed wide distribution and were used in the next centuries as models for other printed and painted portraits of scholars. Painted series of such portraits were often made for the decoration of public and private libraries.

Paolo Giovio's activities were of great importance for the iconography of many scholars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including Rudolph Agricola. Giovio owned a portrait of Agricola and although this painting is not extant, we know its character thanks to the woodcut made by Stimmer.⁷ In the collection of engravings by Galle we also find a likeness of Agricola which is derived from the same prototype as the Stimmer print. We may conclude that this type of portrait, representing the sitter in his later years, already circulated throughout Europe in the third and fourth quarter of the sixteenth century. It remained the most well-known likeness of Agricola during the next centuries. Until about ten years ago the prints by Galle and Stimmer were thought to be the earliest known examples of this type of portrait, but in the early seventies several other portraits were found of the same type made around 1530 by the famous German artist Lucas Cranach (1472-1553).⁸ One of these small paintings is in the museum of Munich and the other in a private collection. The first was formerly identified as a portrait of Geiler von Keisersberg on the basis of a vague resemblance to another likeness of Keisersberg; Agricola is represented here in bust. The painting in a private collection shows him to the waist and is, I think, closely related to

⁵ Müntz, *Le Musée de portraits de Paul Jove*; Rave, *Paolo Giovio und die Bildnisvitien-Bücher des Humanismus*.

⁶ Van Someren, *Beschrijvende Catalogus*, no. 31.

⁷ Expos. Cat. UBG 1985, no. 84, repr. 38.

⁸ Koeplin and Falk, *Lukas Cranach*, I: 257-260; II: 459.

the one formerly in the Giovio collection. Even more interesting is a third portrait of Agricola by Cranach: a miniature of 1531 in the matriculation book of the Wittenberg University. On a single page we find four small portraits each measuring about four centimeters which represent Agricola, Luther, Melanchthon and Erasmus. This is a very interesting testimonial of the place of honour which Agricola held in the Lutheran atmosphere of the Wittenberg University.

The portraits by Cranach, Galle and Stimmer are derivations of the same prototype which shows Agricola with a long hood and a slip on his back and shoulder. Thanks to the prints by Galle and Stimmer, this type of portrait was spread all over Europe. The other type, of which the Franeker painting of the later sixteenth century is the oldest version we know, circulated only in the Netherlands from 1654. In that year an engraving after the Franeker likeness was incorporated in the *Effigies & Vitae Professorum Academiae Groningae & Omlandiae*, a book with portraits and biographies of Groningen professors, including some famous earlier Groningen scholars.⁹ After the publication of this book several engraved and painted copies were made; two examples are the painting in the University Library in Groningen and the terribly bad painting of the former library in Deventer.¹⁰ This type of portrait of Agricola with a small cap on his head shows him at a much younger age than the Cranach portraits; it may have been derived from an original portrait which was made before Agricola went to Italy and left with his relations in Groningen.

⁹ Some engraved copies are reproduced in the *Expos. Cat. UBG* 1985, frontispiece and 10.

¹⁰ The painting in Groningen is reproduced in: Ekkart and Schuller tot Peursum-Meijer, *Groninger Academieportretten*, no. 1.

Jos. M. M. HERMANS

RUDOLPH AGRICOLA AND HIS BOOKS,
WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE SCRIPTORIUM
OF SELWERD

Agricola is likely to have possessed a rich library. This would have been normal with his learned friends in Italy, but there are stronger grounds for believing this was the case. For instance, it is highly unlikely that he wrote his magnum opus, *De inventione dialectica*, without a large library at hand, though in Ferrara he could undoubtedly have used the books of others. Moreover, in all likelihood the memory of a fifteenth-century humanist was better developed than that of a twentieth-century academic or student. However, his own remarks, as well as those of contemporary and more recent biographers, suggest that Agricola indeed owned many books.

Shortly after 20 October 1483, before leaving for Heidelberg, Agricola writes to his dear friend Alexander Hegius: 'Brother Henry ... was sent to me and I gave him my books to bring to Heidelberg'.¹ This suggests that Agricola had more books than he could himself take to his new home. This impression is confirmed by what others say about his library. But anyone who tries to establish the size of his library and the titles of its books will be disappointed: apart from a small number of titles Agricola's books cannot be traced.

Nauwelaerts, the most recent writer of a complete biography of Agricola, is very cautious and says that 'some dozens of manuscripts and books will probably add up to the total'.² This does not seem to be an unreasonable conjecture, but he adduces no arguments. Van der Velden, in his dissertation on Agricola, makes no guesses of this kind.³

I am greatly indebted to Dr. F. Akkerman and Mr. F.J. Bakker for their useful comments on a previous version of this paper and to Dr. F. Akkerman in particular for allowing me to make use of his translations of the *Vitae* and *Epistolae* of Agricola. I wish to extend my acknowledgements to Ms. Hanneke Wirtjes, who, some years ago, did preliminary research on Agricola and his books. Above all, my gratitude goes to Mr. J.P.M. Jansen, Professor A.A. MacDonald and Dr. G.H.V. Bunt to whom I owe much of the quality of the English text.

Many thanks go to the keepers in the different libraries who facilitated my research and gave permission for the publication of plates VI and VII.

¹ 'Fuit ad me Henricus frater missus a domino Bartomogensi, dedi illi libros meos portandos Heidelbergam.' *Ep.* 36.

² Nauwelaerts, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 74.

³ Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*.

In this paper the various written sources will be examined to find out what can be discovered of Agricola's library and the results will be checked against what is known about books which are still extant today. I will not treat his own writings nor their transmission, but only his library. In what follows I shall be concerned only with Agricola's letters, and with the reports by his contemporaries or near-contemporaries.

The *Vitae* of Agricola provide little explicit information.⁴ Johann von Pleningen's biography is the first which is important for our subject (written before 1500; Johann died in 1506). From their student days in Pavia and Ferrara he had been a constant friend of Agricola. We read in his *Vita* that Agricola spent the money which he earned by playing the organ at the court of Ercole d'Este, duke of Ferrara, on *libros grecos*, 'Greek books'.⁵ A little later in the same *Vita* follows the information that Johann von Dalberg, bishop of Worms, who played an important rôle in the move to Heidelberg, provided him there with 'Hebrew books'.⁶ The text does not say how many books, nor on what subject. The relationship between Agricola and Von Dalberg remained very friendly until Agricola's death: from another source we know that he gave a manuscript of Cicero to Von Dalberg on his death-bed, *pro ultimo valedono*, as a last farewell gift.⁷

Unfortunately we do not find remarks on Agricola's library in the *Vita* of Goswinus van Halen (c. 1520-1525). About a decade later, in 1536, another *Vita* was written by Gerardus Geldenhouwer of Nijmegen. He certainly never knew Agricola, and the question is where he got his information from. But his *Vita* does contain some useful material. We read:

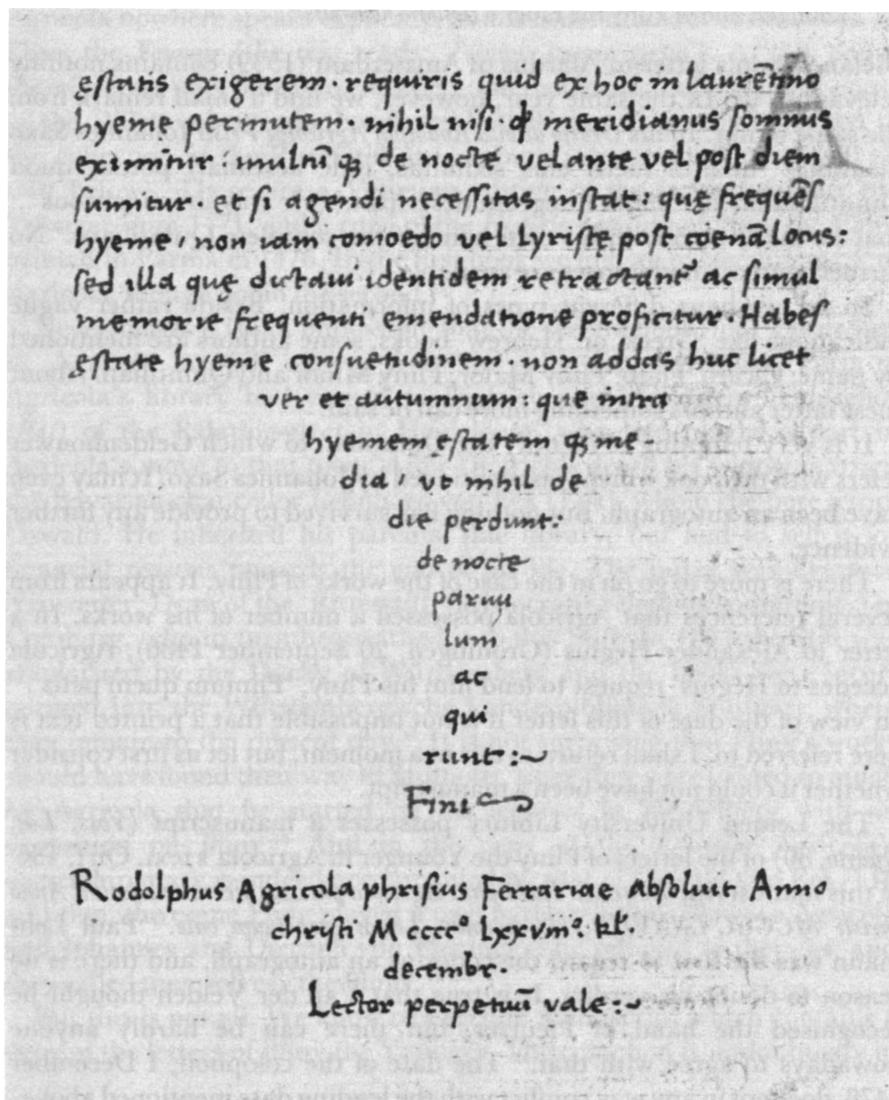
because he was always moving about, Agricola left most of his books in the care of good friends, but ... he always carried a small select library with him. This consisted – apart from one or two selected texts of Plato, Cicero, and

⁴ For the *vitae* see Weiss, 'The six lives of Rudolph Agricola'. On Agricola's biography see Akkerman, 'Rudolph Agricola, een humanistenleven', and his contribution to this volume.

⁵ 'id circa Ferrariam (ut verbis suis utar) Musarum domum se contulit, et divi Herculis ducis et principis optimi subtili quidem hominum estimatori virtutisque fautori optimo ministerio, ut festis sacris ac statis organa pulsaret uti libros grecos coemere honestiusque vivere posset, sese inseruit.' *Vita* by Johann von Pleningen, in: Pfeifer, 'Rudolf Agricola', 102.

⁶ 'Preceptorem hebreae linguae admodum doctum homini conduxit, librorumque itidem hebreorum copiam maxima et cura et impensa corrasit.' Pfeifer, 'Rudolf Agricola', 103-104.

⁷ Two letters of Viglius to Celtis: See Morneweg, *Johann von Dalberg*, 342-343; cf. Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 253 and note 4.



Quintilian's *De institutione oratoria* – in the first place of the letters of Pliny the Younger, and of Pliny the Elder's *Historia naturalis*.⁸

Melanchthon's letter to Alardus of Amsterdam (1539) contains nothing relevant to us. In the same year, however, we find a small remark from the same writer. In his *Oratio de vita Rodolphi Agricolae Frisii* Johannes Saxo mentions: 'quanta fuerit eius sedulitas, inde aestimari potest, quod Quintilianum sua manu integrum descripsit.' (He was so industrious ... that he made a copy in his own hand of the complete Quintilian).⁹ No further sources or references are available.

So far we have different types of information. Beside rather vague indications like 'Greek' or 'Hebrew' books, some authors are mentioned by name: Cicero, Plato, Pliny Maior, Pliny Minor and Quintilian. About these latter authors something more can be said.

It is very tempting to identify the Quintilian to which Geldenhouwer refers with the book which was mentioned by Johannes Saxo. It may even have been an autograph. But nothing has survived to provide any further evidence.

There is more to go on in the case of the works of Pliny. It appears from several references that Agricola possessed a number of his works. In a letter to Alexander Hegius (Groningen, 20 September 1480), Agricola accedes to Hegius' request to lend him his Pliny, 'Plinium quem petis'.¹⁰ In view of the date of this letter it is not impossible that a printed text is here referred to; I shall return to this in a moment, but let us first consider whether it could not have been a manuscript.

The Leiden University Library possesses a manuscript (*Voss. Lat. Quarto*, 80) of the letters of Pliny the Younger in Agricola's text. On f. 136^r of this manuscript we read: *Rodolphus Agricola phrisius Ferrarie absoluit Anno christi MCCCC^oLXXVIII^o, kl. decembr. Lector perpetuum vale.*¹¹ Paul Lehmann was the first to regard the codex as an autograph, and there is no reason to doubt his verdict. It is true that Van der Velden thought he recognised the hand of Pfeutzer, but there can be hardly anyone nowadays to agree with that.¹² The date of the colophon, 1 December 1478, does not in any way conflict with the lending date mentioned above.

⁸ *Vita Agricolae* by Geldenhouwer, in: Fichardus, *Virorum qui superiori nostroque seculo ... Vitae*, fo. 84v.

⁹ 'Oratio de Vita Agricolae' by Melanchthon, in: *Corpus Reformatorum*, XI, 442.

¹⁰ Ep. 21: 'Plinium quem petis a me, quanquam crebro in manibus habeam, preferendum illi ad te dabo.' (= Alardus II, 188).

¹¹ De Meijer, *Codices Vossiani Latini* II, 189-90, colophon p. 189; *CMD-NL* I, 227 (p. 97), pl. 459-60. See plate VI in this volume.

¹² Lehmann, 'Franciscus Modius als Handschriftenforscher', 108; Lehmann, 'Johannes Sichardus', 232, noot 3, 132. Cf. the contribution by Prof. Römer to this volume.

But we cannot disregard the possibility of a printed text. After all, Agricola nowhere speaks explicitly, in this context, about either *letters*, or Pliny the *Younger* (the text reads: '*Plinium quem petis*'). At this point, therefore, we may take into consideration two incunabula which are now in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, but originally belonged to the collection at the Ritterstift at Comburg (about which more will be said below). These are a Venetian edition of the letters of Pliny the Younger from 1471, and a copy of the *Historia naturalis* of Pliny the Elder printed in Parma in 1476. In the first book we find an ownership mark of Agricola, though not in the second.¹³

Nevertheless it is not impossible that the second book, too, was owned by Agricola, as will emerge from the following digression. Parts of Agricola's library had passed to Dietrich von Pleningen, Counsellor (*Rat*) of the Palatine-elect in Heidelberg, who had played a part in Agricola's move to that town. After Dietrich's death his widow married the Bavarian chancellor Leonhard von Eck (Egk), whom she bore a son, Oswald. He inherited his parents' fine library, but had to sell it for financial reasons towards the end of his life. The buyer was Erasmus Neustetter, Dean of the 'Ritterstift' (aristocratic religious community) of Comburg, who in turn bequeathed it to this Stift. In 1803 the Stift was secularised by the Duchy of Württemberg and the books were incorporated into the Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, where they remain to the present day.¹⁴ It is not surprising that Pliny's works should have found their way to Stuttgart, since they were valued so much by Agricola that he started off his lectures in Heidelberg with an exposition on Pliny.¹⁵ And in the copy of the *Epistolae* Agricola's ownership mark is indeed accompanied by that of Oswald von Eck.¹⁶ In addition, the name Pliny played a part in the relations between Agricola and Johannes and Dietrich von Pleningen: he referred to them as, and they called themselves, 'the Plinii'.¹⁷

But this is not all. We know of a second manuscript which contains a copy of the letters of Pliny the Younger. The colophon is undoubtedly in

¹³ Inc. 2°.13091: Gaius Plinius Secundus [the elder], *Historia naturalis*. Parma, Stephanus Corallus, 1476. 2°. Inc. 2°.13110: Gaius Caecilius Plinius Secundus [the Younger], *Epistolae*. Venice, Christopher Valdarfer, 1471, 4°. Cf. Adelmann, 'Dr Dietrich von Plieninger zu Schabeck', Anhang 2, 93 and Römer (cf. note 12).

¹⁴ Amelung, 'Die niederländischen Inkunabeln der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek'.

¹⁵ Geldenhouwer even stated: 'Plinii naturalem historiam nunquam e sinu deponebat' (Richardus – cf. note 8 –, fol. 84v). On Agricola's lecturing in Heidelberg see Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 232, 233.

¹⁶ Adelmann, 'Dr Dietrich von Plieninger zu Schabeck', Anhang 2, 93.

¹⁷ Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, *passim* (e.g. 2, 227, 230).

Agricola's hand, and he dedicated the book explicitly to Dietrich von Pleningen: '... diligenter per rhodolphum agricolam frisum recognitus, exscriptus pro theodorico plinio germano scolastico tunc ferrarie anno 1478. 26 februarii. hercule duce estense imperante foeliciter.'¹⁸ It is obvious that this codex, presented as it was to Dietrich von Pleningen, cannot be identified as the text that was lent to Hegius in 1480.

The last author about whom we can add a short note is Cicero. There is no further description of any specific work, so that recognition of one particular book or another is impossible unless it contains an ownership mark or obviously autograph notes. We do not know of such a book. The library of Leiden University does possess a humanist manuscript of Cicero's *De officiis*, which at the beginning of the eighteenth century was thought to be in Agricola's hand. The philologist Jacobus Gronovius thought there were reasons for this, but he did not give them; it is my opinion that the handwriting precludes such an identification.¹⁹

Nonetheless we should note that the report that Agricola on his death-bed gave a manuscript of Cicero to Von Dalberg accords with Geldenhouwer's statement that Agricola always kept such texts with him.

So much for the *Vitae*. In the *Epistolae*, too, we encounter all sorts of evidence, though not so much in the collection of letters published by Alardus as in the collection which was assembled much later by Hartfelder. On 22 October 1482 Agricola wrote from Germersheim to Johann von Pleningen, who was staying in Rome at that time:

If you should find anything old in the town that has not yet come into the hands of the people, buy it and bring it with you to us. I hear that the *Liber partitionum* by Seneca is found there (so called by the person who told me about it), from which, he says, those fragments of declamations have been taken that are prescribed in a book of speeches by Cicero that has been printed in Rome. And also certain other declamations by Quintilian of which I discovered fragments in Germany. L. Columella, too, besides other authors on agriculture, which, as far as I know, no one of us here possesses, except for my lord of Augsburg [the bishop]. In the very first place I would ask you to buy and bring us everything you can find of books by Aristotle in Greek.²⁰

It is not clear what Johannes brought with him from Rome. Certainly no text by Columella, since on 27 March 1485 Agricola wrote from

¹⁸ Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. poet. 4° 30. See Irtenkauf, Krekler, Dumke, *Die Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek*, I. Reihe, 2. Band, 95-96.

¹⁹ Leiden, University Library, Ms. Voss. Lat. Q. 118. See De Meijer, *Codices Vossiani Latinii II*, 258-259.

²⁰ Ep. 27.

Heidelberg to the well-known printer and publisher Adolf Rusch in Strasbourg:

Will you buy the following books for me if you can find them during the fair in Frankfurt among the booksellers? I shall let you have the money in the most convenient way. I am interested in Columella, *De re rustica* with other adjuncts, Cornelius Celsus, *De medicina*, Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, Statius, *Opera* with commentary, and Silius Italicus; either all of these or whichever you can find. If you buy them, give them to my lord's servants who are staying at the house of the tax-collector where I stayed when I was in Frankfurt.²¹

Nothing is known about the actual purchases of Rusch, although Agricola responded enthusiastically, especially because Rusch did not want to be paid. He writes:

I have received the books you bought for me. They are beautiful and accurate: I must thank you greatly. You wanted nothing other than a word of thanks. But I had certainly not requested anything on that condition nor had I expected it. I shall from now on be more reluctant to call in your help, or perhaps ... more eager etc. etc.²²

Agricola does not leave it at that: a long passage of beautiful humanist prose follows, but there is no clear description of what books had arrived.

A little earlier, in a letter to Adolph Occo of 18 October 1480, Agricola had made some remarks about his library, but there is little to go on there. He has Occo say: 'You can associate with Demosthenes, Isocrates, Thucydides and the others who are always ready for you in your books.'²³ A nice figure of speech, but rather unspecific.

More importance can be attached to his activities as a translator. In a letter to his brother Johannes (from Ferrara, 30 November 1478), he wrote that he had translated Isocrates' *Admonitio ad Demonicum* for him.²⁴ He also translated writings by Lucian – *De non facile credendis delationibus* certainly, and perhaps others. In 1484 he translated the Mycillus – called elsewhere a text 'on the cobbler and the cock' – for Hegius, who was very grateful to him.²⁵ Less clear is the passage in a letter to Adolph Occo, in which he says that he is returning Occo's Lucian, which he had first translated rather freely, 'in the manner of Planudes'.²⁶

In a way it is surprising that Erasmus furnishes us with hardly any facts on Agricola's library, although he appreciated Agricola much and

²¹ Ep. 46; cf. Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 239.

²² Ep. 47; Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 239-240.

²³ Ep. 22.

²⁴ Ep. 15.

²⁵ Resp. Ep. 16, 40 and 42.

²⁶ Ep. 18; On Planudes (c. 1255-1305) see Schmidt, 'Planudes'.

refers to him more than once with praise.²⁷ A letter of Alardus to Erasmus offers some clues about the dissemination of Agricola's possessions. Pompeius Occo, nephew to Adolphus Occo, had inherited from his uncle 'everything he possessed of Agricola'.²⁸ We know from Geldenhouwer that Agricola in his will explicitly appointed Adolph Occo as inheritor to his library.²⁹ But now this Pompeius intended to draw up a list and sell the books...

It is not known whether the sale actually took place, although there is little reason to assume the contrary. This means that Agricola's possessions were disseminated without us knowing much about it. However, from another passage of Alardus, in the edition of *De inventione dialectica*, we know that the collection contained a copy of the Pandects.³⁰

One may even venture a remark about the date of the sale. Allen writes that Haio Herman Phrysius, through his marriage to Pompeius' daughter Anna, was enabled 'to supply his scholar-friends with material from Agricola's library'.³¹ But in the same note Allen also says that Haio married Anna in March 1528 and that Pompeius Occo died on 22 November 1537. The auction could thus have taken place in the intervening years. But what works were included in the sale? We know of only three works: 'notes on Seneca [sold] to Erasmus, a translation of Lucian, and a homily of Chrysostom to Rescius'.³² The Lucian translation may very well be by Agricola himself. We saw earlier that he had translated at least one text by Lucian; whether this is one of the texts mentioned above or perhaps another work cannot be said.

Nor can much be said with any certainty as to the 'Notes on Seneca' (possibly they were just his private notes?). One detail, however, is noteworthy. In the letters of Erasmus there are several references to an early edition of Seneca.³³ Strangely enough this appears to be the one book which is recognizable with any bibliographical certainty! It is a Seneca text which was in the possession of Haio Herman Phrysius but which used to belong to Agricola. Erasmus borrowed this particular book because it contained notes by Agricola to which Erasmus attached great value. The preface to Erasmus' second edition (March 1529) of Seneca's works, which is in the form of a letter to Petrus Tomiczki, contains a

²⁷ On Agricola and Erasmus see Waterbolk, *Een hond in het bad*, and the contribution of Prof. Schoeck to this volume.

²⁸ 'quicquid habuit Rodolphi Agricolae': Alardus II, † 1v.

²⁹ Geldenhouwer, *Vita Agricolae*, 5, lines 18-19.

³⁰ Alardus I, p. 217.

³¹ Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum* III, Allen's note to letter 903.

³² *Ibidem*.

³³ Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum* Vol. VII, Letter 2056 and Vol. VIII, Letters 2108 and 2091. Allen noted: 'I do not know whether Agricola's volume still exists' (at Letter 2091).

description of this book, where, incidentally, it is termed a *codex*. He speaks of a book printed 'fifty years ago' (ante annos quinquaginta).³⁴ This reference makes it certain that the book Erasmus mentions was a copy of a bibliographically well-known edition which appeared in Treviso in 1478;³⁵ the book itself has never been found.

So far we have been able to trace a number of more or less recognisable titles, which in some cases may be linked with books actually preserved. I shall now discuss some topics of a different nature: Agricola's plans, his visits to other people's libraries, his remarks on publications, and a problematic work.

In a letter of 15 September 1479 Agricola writes to Dietrich von Pleningen about his visit to Johann von Dalberg and his library at Spires:

I have been at Spires with Johann von Dalberg; he was very friendly towards me; about you, too, nothing but great friendliness and friendship. I spent an entire day at his house; we were in his library; to our (presumably German: J.H.) standards it is a good one. Not even a rumour of Greek books; at most two or three Latin books worth looking into because of some acquaintance with antiquity, and which I had nevertheless not seen before, nor even heard of; but nothing in the field of eloquence. I found a Livy and a Pliny, both old, but both very corrupt and fragmentary. He tells me there are old libraries in some of the monasteries in the same area, which he and I shall visit when I shall be at Spires again. May you prosper well. You see my haste. Cologne, 15 September 1479.³⁶

Agricola's wish to visit libraries everywhere is encountered more often. From Heidelberg he writes to Adolph Rusch on 1 October 1484 that he had intended to come to him 'to see at the same time the Greek library at Basel.' And a little later in the same letter he says, 'let me know if you find some old books that are not generally known in your area. If I could come to you we would go around together everywhere, searching the dust in all the libraries...'³⁷

These last remarks again show a strong interest in Greek literature – one will recall the story of his organ-playing at Ferrara to finance his Greek books. Agricola would have liked to stay a little longer at

³⁴ 'Profuit et Rodolphi Agricolae codex typis excusus Tarvisii, ante annos quinquaginta: quem is vigilantissime videtur evolvisse. Arguebant hoc notulae manus ipsius, quibus innumera loca correxerat, sed in multis, ut apparebat, divinationem ingenii sequutus magis quam exemplaris vetustis fidem' (Erasmus, *Op. epp.*, ed. Allen, VIII, p. 28 (no. 2091)). See Allen, 'The letters', 307.

³⁵ Seneca, *Opera philosophica; Epistolae*. Treviso, Bernhardus de Colonia, 1478. 2° (= HAIN-COPINGER 14591; comparable to BMC VI 892; GOFF S-369; IDL 4084; IGI 8868; POLAIN (B) 3481).

³⁶ *Ep.* 19.

³⁷ *Ep.* 40.

Dillingen, as he wrote in August 1481 to Adolph Occo in a letter we saw before. 'The reason was to copy Homer – you know how for me Greek studies are completely insufficient without him – if not both parts then at least the Iliad.'³⁸ But that was not to be: he had to leave at short notice.

Another interesting subject is Agricola's forceful verdicts on the quality of texts. In a letter from Deventer, 7 April 1484, he writes to Antonius Liber about a Virgil commentary which Gerardus van Gouda had received from France, but about which he held no high hopes. On top of this he even refers to a 'rhetorica' that had recently been written in Cologne, 'a thick and garrulous work, as I can see from the chapter headings.' One must give a negative judgement 'because the author wrote more about art than with art.' It was horrid ('horrifica'), indeed barbaric, 'smelling of the dust ('sordes redolentia') of the schools in our region.'³⁹

However, from the reports of such visits and judgements we cannot obtain any certainty about his actual possessions; nonetheless it seems to me highly unlikely, that Agricola acquired the *rhetorica*.

One text presents some special problems. In the *Vita* by Goswinus van Halen, which is largely based on information from Agricola's contemporary and fellow-student Wilhelmus Frederici (±1440-1525), we find a peculiar passage.⁴⁰ While on a journey to Roermond on official business for the town of Groningen, Agricola is said to have found a Greek manuscript of Eucherius, bishop of Lyons. He translated the text and sent it to a nun called Wandelvaert from Nijmegen, a good acquaintance, who was at that moment in the Benedictine convent at Selwerd, near Groningen. The strange thing is that the text by Eucherius was certainly in Latin; the so-called translation must be a misunderstanding or false attribution by the printer Jacobus of Breda, as Erasmus realised.⁴¹

What does all this tell us? Really very little, it must be conceded, though modern library collections do provide some more information. At Emden there is a copy of Lucan's *Pharsalia* with a note stating that it belonged to Agricola;⁴² in Stuttgart a printed Tacitus with marginalia by

³⁸ *Ep.* 18 (cf. note 26).

³⁹ *Ep.* 37.

⁴⁰ On Wilhelmus Frederici see Zuidema, *Wilhelmus Frederici*, and Hermans, *Boeken in Groningen vóór 1600. Studies rond de Librije van Sint-Maarten*, chapter 2.1.117 (forthcoming). On Wilhelmus as a source to Goswinus see Kan's edition, p. 5. On Eucherius see *ibidem*, p. 8.

⁴¹ Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*, *Ep.* 676, 20 (Allen – see note 31 – Vol. IV, p. 99) and *Ep.* 3032, 512-526 (Allen, Vol. XI, 184).

⁴² Emden, Bibliothek der Grossen Kirche, ms. Philologia fol. 32: It was a present by Agricola to Jacob Canter (1482). Cf. Feith, 'Een boek uit de abdij van Aduard', 216-222; *Jahrbuch Emden* 29 (1920), 443-445; Post, 'Het Sint Bernardsklooster te Aduard', 150-151; Koch, 'Die Bibliothek der Großen Kirche in Emden', 18-20; Jacobus Canter, *Dialogus de Solitudine*, ed. Ebels-Hoving, 25.

Agricola is preserved.⁴³ Very interesting, finally, is the Tacitus manuscript at Leiden, which is today generally thought to be Agricola's autograph.⁴⁴ It is true that it contains no colophon or owner's mark, but the handwriting is revealing enough.

It has been claimed that nearly all Dutch incunabula in the collection at Stuttgart derive from Agricola's library.⁴⁵ Without any further proof, however, this would seem to be a very bold guess.

So much for Agricola's books. I should now like to make a brief remark on Agricola's own art of writing. Goswinus saw a manuscript of Hyginus in which Agricola had painted pictures of the firmament when he was only a schoolboy.⁴⁶ Geldenhouwer speaks highly of Agricola's abilities even at a very youthful age. As a child he is supposed to have been 'particularly fond of little books and papers', and as a student in Louvain he read Cicero and Quintilian in addition to the obligatory Aristotle. Quick in the uptake, he learned excellent French in only a couple of months during his student days – and that at Louvain, was the pointed remark, which surprised the French very much.⁴⁷ But to his writing.

'Agricola painted letters delicately, and from this form of painting he received access to the real art of painting, not without receiving great praise.'⁴⁸ When we look at the majority of his writings we find soberly executed humanist codices (see pl. VI). Is the remark about the painting of letters then just another of Geldenhouwer's remarks which we must take with a pinch of salt? I am not sure.

If we consider that the young Roelof received his first schooling probably near Groningen, in the monastery at Selwerd where his father was abbot, we might also think of the writing practices which were

⁴³ Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Inc. 2° 15218. Tacitus, *Historiae*. (Editio princeps: Venice, Vindelinus de Spira, [About 1473]). The volume stems from Dietrich von Plieningen ('Theodorici plinii 11. doctoris') but contains notes in the handwriting of Agricola too. See Adelmann, 93 and Römer.

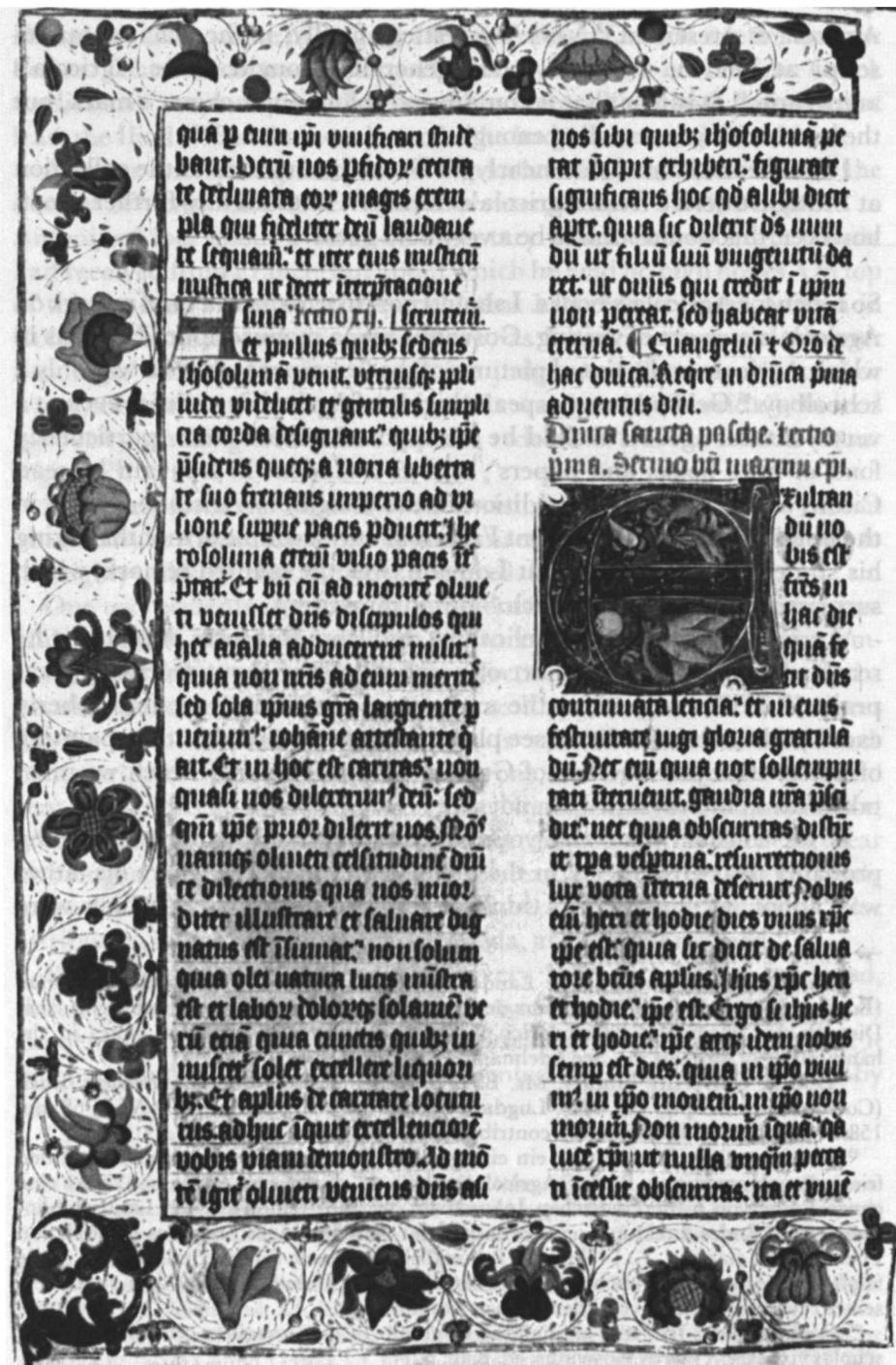
⁴⁴ Leiden, University Library, Ms. BPL 16 B. See *Codices Bibliothecae Publicae Latini*. (Codices Manuscripti, Vol. III), Lugduni Batavorum 1912, p. 11; *CMD-NL* I, 68, no. 158. See on this Ms. Prof. Römer's contribution to this volume.

⁴⁵ Amelung, 2-3: 'Obwohl nur ein einziger Band ... einen direkten Hinweis auf den friesischen Humanisten Rudolf Agricola enthält, ... dürfen wir annehmen, dass eine ganze Reihe von niederländischen Inkunabeln der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek letzten Endes direkt aus seinem Besitz oder dem des seines Freundes Dietrich von Plieningen ... stammt'. (...) 'Unter ... Inkunabeln sind auch fünf niederländische ... die folglich mit grösster Wahrscheinlichkeit der Bibliothek Rudolf Agricolas oder zumindest seines Freundes Dietrich von Plieningen entstammen.'

⁴⁶ 'Vidi aliquem [sic; ms. aliquando] Hyginum in quo imagines celi pinxerat cum scholas visitaret.' (*Vita* by Goswinus, ed. Kan, p. 7).

⁴⁷ *Vita* by Geldenhouwer, ed. Fichardus, fo. 84r.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.



VII. A sample of writing and illumination from the convent of Selwerd, c. 1470.

prevalent there. In this context it is interesting to note that during the abbacy of Hendrik Vries (1444-1480) the scriptorium of the monastery at Selwerd flourished like that of no other religious house in the area.⁴⁹ Very many manuscripts – mainly liturgical – were written there not only for the use of the monastery itself, such as the *Lectionary* which is now in the University Library of Groningen, but also for that of churches in the area. But this is not the place to discuss the specific characteristics of regional book-illumination.⁵⁰

So much will be clear: the normal book-hand in the area was decidedly different from what we now find in his humanist manuscripts. The ‘pingere’, painting, is definitely applicable to the ‘Groningen’ script. But that does not provide any evidence as to whether Roelof commanded the necessary skill in fine detail, as Geldenhouwer suggests.

Thus I reach a provisional conclusion. A different subject would be Agricola’s own writings. The remark that Dietrich von Pleningen made a fair copy from Agricola’s rough drafts (he himself describes his method as very disorderly, with many deletions) offers an interesting starting point.⁵¹

Intriguing – it cannot be put differently – is, finally, Agricola’s brother Johannes, who was after all his ‘typographer’ (*typographus*). Was there any printing in Groningen? The earliest known printer is from the end of the sixteenth century (1598). Was he working somewhere else? The answer to these questions is – sadly enough – quite simple: Johannes was not a typographer at all! The confusion probably stems from a misreading of *tyrographus* or *chyrographus*, as Dr. Akkerman kindly has informed me.⁵²

Many questions remain which I have not attempted to answer. The actual result of the present investigation could be summed up in a very tiny list: ‘some dozens’, in fact. Nevertheless I doubt whether this is the last word concerning Agricola’s books.

⁴⁹ On Selwerd as a centre of book production see Damen, ‘Het dubbelklooster Selwerd’; cf. note 50.

⁵⁰ Cf. Hermans, *Middeleeuwse handschriften uit Groningse kloosters*. Forthcoming, *passim*.

⁵¹ *Ep.* 18.

⁵² Goswinus in his *Vita* (ed. Kan, p. 6): ‘Hic Rodolphi fratris sui aliquanto tempore *typographus* fuit cum Italia rediissent et Rodolphus esset scriba et orator *Groningensis*'; and (p. 7): ‘... accidit Rodolphum filium coram adesse scribamque *Groeningae esse*, cuius Joannes frater *typographus* et *Theseus a manu erat*.’ The manuscript on which Kan based his edition (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 9058) reads undoubtedly ‘*typographus*'; on this see Akkerman, in this volume, Note 46.

ELLY KOOIMAN

THE LETTERS OF RODOLPHUS AGRICOLA TO JACOBUS BARBIRIANUS

Agricola was famed as a man of letters, but music too was an essential element of his existence: he writes that without music it is as if he has lost himself. This great love and gift for both letters and music was shared by Jacob Barbireau of Antwerp. Barbireau was an excellent composer, but he was also deeply interested in humanist studies, for which reason he sought opportunities for studying under Agricola's guidance.

From their first meeting – which Agricola describes as *iucundissima consuetudo nostra* –¹ he had held Barbireau in high esteem. Soon afterwards he was the first to take his pen in hand. Three of Agricola's letters which attest to their mutual regard survive today and they are treated in the first part of this paper.

Agricola writes in these letters as to one younger than himself. Nevertheless, all of the biographies which have been written of Barbireau mention the fact that he already was or became *magister choralium* of Our Lady's Church at Antwerp in 1448. The second part of this paper analyzes the origin of this discrepancy and includes a few remarks about the life of Barbireau.

The Agricola - Barbireau letters

There are three extant letters from Rudolph Agricola to Jacob Barbireau. These letters were written from Groningen on March 27, 1482,² from Cologne on November 1, 1482,³ and from Heidelberg on June 7, 1484.⁴ No letters from Barbireau to Agricola have survived.

When had Agricola and Barbireau met each other? From the first letter it can be deduced that they had met not long before it was written. Agricola writes: 'Well, my dearest Jacob, have you forgotten me so soon?', and he reminds Barbireau of the plans they had made. Their

The English translation of this paper is by Dale Carr. Some of the texts and translations of the letters were given to me by Dr F. Akkerman, some I took from Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*.

¹ *Ep.* 24 (Alardus II, 213).

² *Ep.* 24 (Alardus II, 213-214).

³ *Ep.* 29 (Alardus II, 205-211).

⁴ *Ep.* 38 (Alardus II, 192-201).

meeting must have been short, because Agricola refers to 'our short, but glorious meeting'.⁵

In the summer of 1480 Agricola had twice been sent to Maximilian as a representative of the city of Groningen, probably because of its lengthy legal proceedings with Dirk van Heukelom.⁶ He stayed in Brussels twenty-one days;⁷ his brother Johannes was there too, and here they had met Judocus Besselius.⁸ In 1481 Agricola returned to the court of Maximilian, this time staying for half a year until Christmas. He also went to Antwerp, and lodged for two weeks in the same house as Judocus. In his second letter to Barbireau Agricola writes about 'last year'. The visit must thus have taken place in the second half of 1481;⁹ for the meeting with Barbireau this period makes sense in relation to the passages quoted above from the first letter. But there are other reasons to assign the meeting to these two weeks in Antwerp. At the request of Judocus, Agricola had at that time 'written some verses, epitaphs and hendecasyllables on him, with which Judocus was so pleased that he swore he would not wish to trade them for a place in the epigrams of Martial'.¹⁰ This activity is also mentioned by Agricola in the letter written to Barbireau from Groningen: 'My Muses are not just silent, they are totally struck dumb. So I haven't composed even a single verse since leaving Antwerp'.¹¹ In the letter from Cologne, Agricola asks Barbireau to greet Judocus Besselius for him.¹²

What plans had Agricola and Barbireau made during their meeting? Agricola, who had refused a job with a salary of 200 Rhenish guilders at the court of Maximilian, was nevertheless prepared to accept an offer made to him at Antwerp: 'A number of canons and many of the distinguished youth' had offered him 100 coronates a year 'to lecture on

⁵ *Ep.* 24 (Alardus II, 213).

⁶ Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 134 ff.

⁷ *Ep.* 22.

⁸ *Ep.* 23 (Alardus II, 184).

⁹ Agricola tells about his visit to the court of Maximilian in two letters: in a letter to his brother Johannes (*Ep.* 23) and in one to Adolph Occo, 11-10-1482 (*Ep.* 26). In the letter to Johannes he mentions the most important matter first: extensively his stay at Maximilian's court – he writes about well-known people and affairs, because Johannes had been there a year earlier himself –, and briefly a visit to Aachen and to Antwerp. In the letter to Occo he writes chronologically: Aachen, the offer from Maximilian, the offer from Antwerp, although it is not certain whether his trip to Antwerp was made during or after his stay at the court of Maximilian.

¹⁰ *Ep.* 23 (Alardus II, 184).

¹¹ *Ep.* 24 (Alardus II, 214).

¹² *Ep.* 29 (Alardus II, 211). Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 139, Note 3, is an incorrect reference. It should be Alardus II, 211, instead of 213.

the studies'.¹³ He would have taken up this offer if it had come from the city fathers. But negotiations were necessary, and in the meantime Agricola and Barbireau had made their plans. With regard to Barbireau's plans, Agricola writes: 'you were already giving form to your aspiration and determination to study, and even then you enjoyed the future success of your venture.' Of his own plans for Barbireau he wrote: 'I too had decided – if what I wished were granted me, namely that I might retire to you – that I should instruct you with all possible care and thoroughness, and as it were in the assurance of glory for myself, to educate you to a degree of achievement which I could never have reached, even if I had had at your age a guide and mentor in my studies.'¹⁴ It must be noted that Agricola here takes the initiative: he is the first to write since their meeting; but he is sceptical about the outcome of the negotiations with the city fathers. He writes: 'it occurred to me that you haven't been able to achieve any results in what we had planned, as you had promised to attempt, because of the present wars, which require that the money be used for other ends',¹⁵ and 'that that plan has not worked out according to our wish, I can accept the more easily because – as I have told you often – already at the outset I had little hope that anything would come of it. You were the more prepared to hope but – as the outcome has proved – I was the better prophet'.¹⁶

Finally, this first letter implies that Agricola and Barbireau had made music together in Antwerp, and that Agricola, who was always inspired by the company of friends, misses Barbireau, for he complains: 'Nor do I sing and play anymore; I do not touch any branch of that art, so that it seems sometimes as if I have lost my own self'.¹⁷ This is a frequent complaint in the letters of Agricola when he has moved to a new location or misses his friends.¹⁸ So it tells us more about the inspiring meeting with Barbireau than about the place from which the complaint was sent. He also writes: 'If I can cut myself loose from my duties here for a while, then I'll come to you'.¹⁹

On October 25, 1482, Agricola receives four letters from Barbireau, including the Senate's offer of the position of rector of the Latin school. Agricola had been three weeks at Heidelberg and was on the way back. He had as much as agreed to Johann von Dalberg's invitation to settle in

¹³ *Ep.* 26.

¹⁴ *Ep.* 24 (Alardus II, 213).

¹⁵ *Ep.* 24 (Alardus II, 213).

¹⁶ *Ep.* 24 (Alardus II, 214).

¹⁷ *Ep.* 24 (Alardus II, 214).

¹⁸ *Ep.* 22; Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 86 ff, 128 ff, 222 ff.

¹⁹ *Ep.* 24 (Alardus II, 214).

Heidelberg when Barbireau's letters reached him. Now he hesitates.²⁰ Shortly before, on October 11, he had written from Heidelberg to Adolph Occo about Dalberg's invitation, weighing the respective merits of Heidelberg and Groningen. He had mentioned other offers too, including the one made to him at Antwerp. He wrote Occo that if he had been able to get the money from the city, he would have done so; and he would have gotten the money, he added, if war and troubles hadn't spoiled everything.²¹ Then, on October 25, he received an unexpected offer from the city fathers of Antwerp. Agricola was in Bacharach when he received Barbireau's letters. The same evening he writes to Dietrich von Plenningen from Koblenz,²² sending along the letter from Barbireau with Antwerp's offer. Now he weighs the respective merits of Antwerp and Heidelberg: 'I cannot deny that I'm strongly influenced by the commodities that present themselves to me there: the beautiful town, distinguished by the annual gathering of so many people, the culture of the inhabitants and the free and pleasant style of life, the many generous promises of so many people, that could seduce even me – to speak only of myself –, who, as you know, am not lightly moved by promises. For as far profit is concerned [he had been offered 300 Rhenish guilders by the city^{22a}] – although all who want something badly are liable to have their mouth bigger than their hand – as far as I can see, I trust that I can get as much as he writes.' On the other side there was Heidelberg, where he would live with his friends Johann von Dalberg and Dietrich von Plenningen; there was the Elector whom he admired highly and near to whose court he would serve, and also the university. The monetary advantage of Antwerp weighs heavily for Agricola because of his age. Nevertheless, he leans toward Heidelberg, the study of Hebrew forcing the decision. He writes: 'And just as Greek letters cost me the position offered to me in Louvain, so shall now Hebrew letters rob me of this lucrative opportunity.' Upon his arrival in Cologne, the negotiator from Antwerp is already awaiting him, but he seeks the advice of his friend and compatriote Rhodolphus Kamerling. Finally he chooses Heidelberg, and on November 1 he writes to Barbireau: 'Last year I was very eager to enter the service of your city and I sought the position, contrary to my habit, with great eagerness and ambition.'²³ 'But now', he writes, 'someone has preceded you, someone who has as much right to my love as

²⁰ *Ep.* 29 (Alardus II, 205-211).

²¹ *Ep.* 26.

²² *Ep.* 28.

^{22a} *Ep.* 30 (Alardus II, 215).

²³ *Ep.* 29 (Alardus II, 207).

you';²⁴ and he informs Barbireau extensively about Heidelberg. This position also is not the one he had requested: Agricola did not want to become a schoolmaster because he thought schools terrible: 'with their beatings, tears and moaning they resemble a jail'.²⁵ He repeats the reasons for which he had wanted to come to Antwerp and closely connects them to the person of Barbireau: 'The freedom to study, and you, yes, you as my companion in that study; I desired to educate you for my own glory, and to leave you behind – in the manner of famous artists – as permanent witness of my ability'.²⁶ He closes the letter with praise for Barbireau because of the straightforward and unalloyed purity of his epistolary style. 'And the teacher which circumstances now deny you: you must create him by your own care, yourself! I encourage you to be of good hope. I know your talent. There is nothing which it cannot achieve by careful exertion'.²⁷

When the Antwerp Senate had received this information, they sent a second messenger, but Agricola remained by his decision.²⁸

The third letter, written from Heidelberg on June 7, 1484, attempts to assist Barbireau in his studies.²⁹ Barbireau had written that he wished he could join Agricola to study under his guidance. Agricola had written a short letter from Cologne on his way to Heidelberg, and now, in Heidelberg, he replies: 'I wish that I was as confident (as you) of my great erudition ... then I should encourage you to leave all behind ... and follow a life of study and erudition under my tutelage.' Agricola writes that he would do this not only for the benefit of Barbireau but also for his own; for in doing so he would enhance his own reputation considerably by developing Barbireau's great potential.³⁰ He then sets out an extensive plan of study for Barbireau. For this reason the letter later became known as the treatise *De formando studio*. Because of the letter's length Agricola quotes Demetrius Phalereus, who called an excessively long letter a book with a greeting. He had used the same quotation earlier in a long letter to Hegius. He wrote then that he would rather break the rules of letter-writing than those of friendship; now he writes that he doesn't care about rules, but only wants to help Barbireau with his studies, since he was unable to guide him personally.³¹

²⁴ *Ep.* 29 (Alardus II, 209).

²⁵ *Ep.* 29 (Alardus II, 208).

²⁶ *Ep.* 29 (Alardus II, 208).

²⁷ *Ep.* 29 (Alardus II, 211).

²⁸ Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 159.

²⁹ *Ep.* 38; Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 201 ff.

³⁰ *Ep.* 38 (Alardus II, 193).

³¹ Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 129-130, 201-202.

At the end of the letter Agricola relates the affairs of his first weeks in Heidelberg (from May 2), and he also writes about music: 'please send me something of your composition to sing, something composed with care, that you would like to have performed to praise. We have singers here too, and I often mention your name to them. Their master composes vocal works for 9 and even for 12 voices, but of his works for 3 or 4 voices I have heard nothing which pleases me much. But I should not like to present my taste as the judge. After all, it is possible that they are better than I can understand.'³²

This 'master' is Johannes von Soest (1448-1506), who was from 1472 choirmaster of Elector Friedrich I, who was succeeded in 1476 by Elector Philipp. His compositions are not extant, so we cannot judge Agricola's verdict. Some of his literary work is preserved, for example *Die Kinder von Limburg*. The titlepage shows 'Johannis de Susato' who, kneeling, offers the book to Elector Philipp in 1480. Later, Johannes von Soest worked as a medical doctor.³³

The Life of Jacob Barbireau (1455-1491)

The letters of Rudolph Agricola to Jacob Barbireau are an important source of information about the person of the *magister choralium* of Our Lady's Church in Antwerp. In addition there are a few archives which offer us information about his life.

Before discussing these archives, a number of corrections needs to be made in the biography of Barbireau as presented in the secondary literature. In particular his term of office and, deduced from this, his date of birth, are at issue. The fact that during one-hundred twenty years the same mistakes consistently occur in all authoritative reference works, from Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens* in 1860 to *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* in 1980 – in fact there is not a single encyclopedia which gives the correct data – forces me to give here *in extenso* the origin of these mistakes.

Leon de Burbure, who researched the Antwerp cathedral archives from 1846 to 1856, considered a certain *Jacobus magister choralium*, who is mentioned in 1448, to be the same person as Jacob Barbireau. He had three reasons for this assumption:

1. Between 1448 and 1491 – the year of Barbireau's death – there is no mention of any other *magister choralium* than Jacob.
2. During his last years Jacob Barbireau was treated with the respect that is

³² Ep. 38 (Alardus II, 200).

³³ Pietzsch, 'Quellen und Forschungen', 96-100, 38-40; Hermelink, 'Heidelberg', 24.

granted only to one whose age, talent and long years of service have made venerable.

3. The Jacobus named in 1448 was not a priest nor was Barbireau.³⁴

Léon de Burbure's study was published posthumously in 1906. On his authority, however, Fétis had already in 1860 in his *Biographie* stated that Barbireau had become *magister choralium* of Our Lady's Church at Antwerp in 1448, without mentioning that this was a hypothesis.³⁵ De Burbure himself, in the *Biographie Nationale* of 1866, gives 1448 as the first year in which Barbireau is mentioned as *magister choralium*.³⁶ This mistake is repeated continually, even in authoritative modern music encyclopedias such as *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*³⁷ and *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.³⁸ His birth year is given variedly between ca. 1408 and ca. 1420.

The Agricola - Barbireau correspondence is regularly referred to in literature since 1860; but scholars neglect to mention that Agricola writes to someone younger than himself. The letters are quite clear about this: in 1482 Agricola writes: '... I too had decided ... to educate you to a degree of achievement which I could never have reached, even if I had had at your age a guide and mentor in my studies',³⁹ and '... I desired to educate you for my own glory, and to leave you behind ... as permanent witness to my ability'.⁴⁰

These words cannot have been directed to a 60-year-old. I was able to find only a single reference to this fact. In his *Rodolphus Agricola* of 1911 Van der Velden refers to the biographies of Fétis and De Burbure and then continues: '... Barbireau died at Antwerp in 1491. Until now it has been accepted that *this* Barbireau was Agricola's correspondent. I wonder, however, whether we have not rather to do with a son or close relative. In the edition of the letters I hope to return to this point...'.⁴¹ The edition of the letters was never published, but Van der Velden must have been referring to the passages quoted above. Van der Velden was criticised more than once for this viewpoint, for instance by Floris Prims, municipal archivist of Antwerp, in 1938: 'Dr Van der Velden has ... presented his opinion that Rodolphus addressed himself to a son of the famous Barbireau; after all, he seems to be writing to one younger than

³⁴ De Burbure, 'La musique à Anvers', 194.

³⁵ Fétis, 'Barbireau', 243.

³⁶ De Burbure, 'Barbireau', 712.

³⁷ Schmidt-Görg, 'Barbireau', 1245.

³⁸ Fox, 'Barbireau', 140.

³⁹ *Ep.* 24 (Alardus II, 213).

⁴⁰ *Ep.* 29 (Alardus II, 208).

⁴¹ Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 139, Note 4. *Joh. Barbirianus* and *Johannes* (page 140) are incorrect: both should be read as *Jacob*.

himself, while Jacob Barbireau was already *magister choralium* in 1448. We consider this hypothesis to be incorrect. Jacobus left only a single daughter named Jacqueline or Jacoba as his heir. See the notes of L. de Burbure concerning the archives of Our Lady's Church.⁴² And with this reference to De Burbure the circle is closed. The authority of these biographies appears to be so great that scholars preferred rather to invent another Barbireau, or to ignore the evidence of Agricola's letters, than to question it.

At this point a few remarks are in order concerning the arguments given by De Burbure for his conclusion that *Jacobus magister choralium* is the same person as Jacob Barbireau:

ad 1: The present municipal archivist of Antwerp, Dr J. van den Nieuwenhuizen, published an article in 1978 in which he extensively treats the institutional aspect of the choir of Our Lady's Church. He shows that it is impossible to assemble a list of singers after 1450, because the records of disbursements are missing for the period from 1450 to 1478, and after this time only the names of the titularies of the incorporated chapels are given instead of the names of the singers. Only exceptionally does one encounter the name of a singer in some other connection. So it is apparent why no other *magister choralium* is named in the Cathedral archives after *Jacobus magister choralium*, who appears only in the second half of 1448.⁴³

ad 2: The earliest archives which mention Barbireau date from 1482. It cannot be assumed that he had then already been famous for 30 years without ever having been mentioned. The only fact which De Burbure mentions in his study is his death date! And the 'great respect' which he mentions is nowhere further explicated.⁴⁴

ad 3: The fact that both *magistri choralium* were not priests suggests only the possibility of their having been the same person; it by no means proves that they were.

The above leads to the conclusion that the arguments adduced by De Burbure are quite insufficient support for his hypothesis. Barbireau was not the *magister choralium* of 1448, but (as appears from the letters of Agricola) he must have been younger.

Van den Nieuwenhuizen publishes in his article the texts of the purchase of two life annuities; from these it is possible to deduce the year of Barbireau's birth. The dates of purchase were October 5, 1486 and

⁴² Prims, 'Agricola', 152.

⁴³ De Burbure, 'La musique à Anvers', 195 ff.; Van den Nieuwenhuizen, 'De koralen', 40, 42.

⁴⁴ De Burbure, 'La musique à Anvers', 253.

July 12, 1487. Barbireau is described on both of these dates as being 'around 31 years old', so he must therefore have been born between July 13th and October 5th in 1455. The word 'around' is the customary usage for specifying ages in these documents. This source also gives the names of his parents: Jan Barbireau (born in 1425 or 1426, and still alive in 1486) and Johanna van Sint-Pol; and of his paternal grandparents Arnoud Barbireau and Johanna.⁴⁵

The following corrections of standard reference works and articles are based on the fact of Barbireau's birth in 1455:

- Agricola and Barbireau had not met each other already at Louvain.⁴⁶
- Barbireau was not the teacher of Jacob Obrecht, his successor at Our Lady's Church, Antwerp.⁴⁷
- The *magister chorali* from Antwerp who visited 's Hertogenbosch in 1475/76 was not Barbireau.⁴⁸
- Barbireau was not sent to Buda by Maximilian as a septuagenarian but as a man of 34. The hypotheses concerning this errand need to be reconsidered.⁴⁹
- The assumption that much of Barbireau's music has been lost in various disasters which plagued Our Lady's Church in Antwerp is not so necessary.⁵⁰
- Works by Barbingant which have been published under the name of Barbireau appear in manuscripts dating from around 1460/70, and cannot possibly be by Barbireau.⁵¹
- In works on music history Barbireau is considered together with composers who were a generation or two older. He does not stand between Ockeghem and Obrecht in style; remarks about his style therefore need to be thoroughly reconsidered.⁵²

A further correction has to do with the legend of the large choir. De Burbure writes that the choir consisted of 38 singers in 1448, and in 1491 of 69, and that Barbireau was thus the leader of the largest choir in all of the fifteenth century. Here the nineteenth-century preference for large choirs must have been projected by De Burbure onto the fifteenth century. Such a large ensemble, however, is unsuited to the sound-ideal and performance practice of fifteenth-century music and thus unsuitable for the music of Barbireau. De Burbure errs when he considers all of the

⁴⁵ Van den Nieuwenhuizen, 'De koralen', 47.

⁴⁶ Du Saar, *Jacobus Barbireau*, 16.

⁴⁷ Sparks, 'Obrecht', 477.

⁴⁸ Smijers, 'Meerstemmige muziek', 3; Du Saar, *Jacobus Barbireau*, 14-15; Van den Nieuwenhuizen, 'De koralen', 47.

⁴⁹ Gombosi, 'Jacob Barbireaus letzte Lebensjahre', 379; Du Saar, *Jacobus Barbireau*, 18-19; Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 723.

⁵⁰ Fox, 'Barbireau', 141.

⁵¹ Fox, 'Barbireau and Barbingant', 79-101.

⁵² See for example: Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 116-117; Fox, 'Barbireau', 141.

chaplains as trained singers. In fact the choir of Our Lady's Church at Antwerp at the end of the fifteenth century consisted of 20 persons: 8 boys and 12 men.⁵³

The final correction concerns Barbireau's date of death: this was not the 8th but the 7th of August 1491.⁵⁴

Archives which mention Barbireau during the period of the Agricola - Barbireau correspondence are scarce. In 1482 he bought a hereditary annuity from the city of Antwerp,⁵⁵ and in 1484-1485 he paid a fee for a chaplaincy.⁵⁶ Two of his compositions: *Gracuuly et biaulx* and *Scon lief*, are found in the Ferrarese chansonnier, which was probably compiled around 1480 on the occasion of the engagement of Isabella d'Este.⁵⁷ If this date is correct, it indicates that Barbireau at 25 was already known and appreciated as a composer at one of Europe's most important musical centers, Ferrara. Dates of composition for his other works are unknown. It is also unknown when he became *magister choraliū* at Antwerp. The first reference to him in this function dates from 1487, but he may have held the position even earlier. Agricola makes no mention of the matter.

The scarcity of other documents makes Agricola's letters our most important source of information about the early years of Barbireau.

After Agricola's time two documents inform us about relations between Barbireau and Maximilian:

– On January 23, 1487, Maximilian ordered payment of 70 pounds to Barbireau for the musical education during two years of the son of one of his stewards. This is the first document which calls Barbireau choirmaster: 'Jacques Barbirian, maistre du chant et des effans de coir de l'église en la ville d'Anvers'.⁵⁸

– On January 8, 1490, Queen Beatrice sends a letter from Buda to Maximilian. She had received a very cordial letter from Maximilian *per Jacobum barbiriā musicū prestantissimum*, in which he had *strictissime* recommended Jacobus and requested for him a safe return. She promises Barbireau hospitality and freedom of passage for the return trip, because of *virtutes suas et animi dotes* and of the recommendation of Maximilian, and because she regards *vestre Majestatis familiares* not less than her own domestic staff.⁵⁹ Beatrice of Aragon had enjoyed an excellent musical education at Naples, where her mentor had been Tinctoris, and she was married to King Matthew Corvinus of Hungary. Her sister Eleonora was married to

⁵³ De Burbure, 'La musique à Anvers', 254; Van den Nieuwenhuizen, 'De koralen', 42 ff.

⁵⁴ Du Saar, *Jacobus Barbireau*, 20.

⁵⁵ Van den Nieuwenhuizen, 'De koralen', 50.

⁵⁶ Van den Nieuwenhuizen, 'De koralen', 47.

⁵⁷ Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 217, 224 ff, 269 ff.

⁵⁸ Du Saar, *Jacobus Barbireau*, 15.

⁵⁹ Gombosi, 'Jacobus Barbireaus letzte Lebensjahre', 380.

Hercules I d'Este of Ferrara. The two sisters strongly influenced the musical life of Buda and Ferrara.

The following seven compositions can be ascribed to Jacob Barbireau with certainty:⁶⁰

- Missa *Faulx perverse* a 4
- Missa *Virgo parens Christi* a 5
- *Kyrie Pascale* a 4
- Motet *Osculetur me* a 4
- Chansons a 3: *Een vroylic wesen*
Gracuuly et biaulx
Scon lief

⁶⁰ Barbireau, *Opera omnia*.

PART THREE

HUMANISM AND LITERATURE

KURT ADEL

RODOLPHUS AGRICOLA UND CONRADUS CELTIS

Die Bedeutung eines Menschen ergibt sich aus seinen Leistungen; aber mehr noch aus seiner Wirksamkeit. Rodolphus Agricola und Conradus Celtis sind für ihre Zeit und für die Nachwelt in verschiedener Weise wichtig: Agricola scheint auf Ruhm oder Nachruhm keinen Wert zu legen. Mit der Reichweite seiner Begabung und seiner Tätigkeit ist er der erste und wohl auch der am meisten glaubwürdige Renaissancemensch in deutschen Landen.

Etwa zehn Jahre verbrachte er in Italien.¹ Dreimal hielt er die Rede zur Inauguration des Rektors in Pavia – die dritte für Johannes Dalberg; er kannte seinen Aristoteles und die Lehren des Neoplatonismus; Quintilianus war sein Vorbild. Er übersetzte aus dem Griechischen, schrieb Kommentare, besonders zu Seneca, studierte Hebräisch. Nach der Rückkehr in den Norden trauerte er um Freunde und Bücher, die Sehnsucht liess ihn nirgends Ruhe finden.

Er gehörte einem Gelehrtenkreis an, der sich um Abt Hendrik in der Abtei Aduard gebildet hatte, mit Wessel Gansfort besprach er Fragen des religiösen und kirchlichen Lebens. Und in Heidelberg sehnte er sich zurück nach Antwerpen, nach dem musikalischen und literarischen Leben in der Gesellschaft des Barbarianus.

Sein Hauptinteresse galt der *ars rhetorica* im weiten Sinn des Wortes; der Jesuit Jacobus Masenius fasste es um 1640 so: Nur ein guter Mensch kann ein guter Redner sein.² In Heidelberg hielt er seine Vorlesungen im Hause des Universitätskanzlers Dalberg, des Bischofs von Worms. Es ging ihm nicht um Teilhabe am Universitätsbetrieb, sondern um die Gemeinschaft mit wenigen.

Seit Dezember 1484 war auch Celtis unter seinen Hörern. Eine Woche vor Agricolas Tod erwarb er den Magistergrad.³ Man begreift, dass das reiche Wissen, die umfassende Bildung des Agricola, die Erscheinung des Weltmanns und Philosophen ihn faszinierten, sodass er nichts mehr wünschte, als ihm nachzufolgen.

Der Tod des Lehrers befreite den jungen Magister aus der Schülerrolle; Celtis verband damit aber auch einen Anspruch: In den Eingangs-

¹ Hinsichtlich der Lebensumstände des Agricola beziehe ich mich vorwiegend auf Nauwelaerts, *Rodolphus Agricola*.

² Masenius, *Palaestra stylis Romani*, 35.

³ Toepke, *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg I*, 377; Celtis, *Poeta laureatus*, 125.

zeilen an den Leser seiner *Ars versificandi et carminum*⁴ (um 1486) erwähnt er zunächst Agricola, den Mann, der die Musen nach Deutschland brachte, und stellte dann sich selbst vor als dessen Schüler, dem er sein Griechisch und Hebräisch vermittelte – während er doch vom Griechischen wenig und vom Hebräischen noch weniger verstand.

Hier offenbart sich der Charakter und die Situation des Celtis: ein planender Geist, bestrebt zu wirken, anerkennt zu werden, in der *respublica litteraria* und nicht nur in ihr zu Ehren zu kommen. Man darf annehmen, dass sein Exemplar der Seneca-Tragödien – Ferrara 1484⁵ –, Besitz der Handschriftensammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, aus Agricolas Nachlass stammt: Agricola war im Frühjahr 1485 in der Begleitung Dalbergs nach Rom gereist, um dem neuen Papst Innozenz VII., die Glückwünsche des Pfalzgrafen zu überbringen.⁶

1487 gab Celtis *Hercules furens* und *Coena Thyestis* heraus als die ersten beiden von zehn Tragödien, *instar decalogi*.⁷ *Octavia* wurde damals Seneca zugeschrieben. Er setzte die Ausgabe nicht fort. Die Widmung an Magnus von Anhalt röhmt Seneca: 'sublimi persuasione ad virtutes inflammat', womit er sich auf Agricolas 'mutat ad meliora mentem' in dessen *In laudem philosophiae* bezieht.⁸ Agricolas 'ad recte beneque uiuendum' verändert er in 'bene beateque' (dreimal) und fügt zweimal 'uiuendum' hinzu. Weder hier noch später erwähnt er seinen Lehrer.

Aus Italien zurückgekehrt hält Celtis am 31. August 1492 die *Oratio in Gymnasio in Ingelstadio publice habita*, die man mit *De formando studio*⁹ verglichen hat: zu unrecht, weil Rede und Brief verschiedenen Charakter haben; und dieses Werk ist der Hauptteil eines Briefes, den Agricola 1484 an Barbarianus schrieb; zu unrecht auch deshalb, weil zwar einige Zusammenhänge bestehen, die eigentliche Quelle aber Agricolas *In laudem philosophiae* ist. Ohne sich auf diese zu beziehen, übernimmt Celtis Worte und Gedanken und gestaltet sie um. Den Hinweis auf Diogenes und Sokrates ersetzt er durch den auf Alexander den Grossen; Philosophie ist ihm nicht Lebenshilfe, sondern Mittel, unsterblich zu werden. Agricola sagt: Es gibt Leute, die die Rhetorik noch über das Wissen stellen – Celtis dagegen: Was hilft das Wissen, wenn man nicht darüber zu sprechen vermag. Agricola preist die Schönheit des Lebens in Ferrara, einer Heimat der Musen, Celtis spricht vom Nutzen theatralischer

⁴ [Leipzig: Konrad Kachelofen, um 1486] GW 6460, AIIr.

⁵ Lucii Anaei Senecae Cordubensis *Hercules Furens Tragedia prima incipit*, Hain 14662 [ich ergänze:] [Ferrara] André Belford [1484], IGI 8905.

⁶ Morneweg, Johann von Dalberg, 92.

⁷ Adel, 'Die Arbeitsmethoden des Konrad Celtis', 2.

⁸ *Oratio in laudem philosophiae*, in Alardus II, S. 147, Z. 2; vgl. S. 156, Z. 5.

⁹ *Oratio*: edidit Iohannes Rupprich, Lipsiae 1932. Humula, 'Beiträge zum Humanistischen Bildungsprogramm', 228-253.

Aufführungen und dem heilsamen Einfluss der Poesie auf junge Leute. Er will beeindrucken, die Zuhörer für sich gewinnen, indem er auf Ruhm und Vorteile hinweist.

Agricola ist ein religiöser Mensch. In der Frühzeit des Celtis besteht ein Anschein von Religiosität, er weicht aber einer kritischen, anti-italienischen und anti-römischen Haltung. Sein Stil zeigt weder die höfische Eleganz noch die vornehme Geisteshaltung seines Lehrers. Die Unterschiede sind gross: Agricolas Sätze sind leicht verständlich, sie bestehen aus kurzen, gegeneinander verstrebten Teilen. Celtis schreibt pathetisch, er will seine Zuhörer beherrschen, er baut weite Sätze, türmt Verbaladjektiva und Gerundien auf, unterbricht sich in Anreden an die Hörer. Die adonischen und doppelten daktylischen Klauseln Agricolas bildet er nicht nach, sondern entwickelt eine Vorliebe für doppelte Trochäen.

Während Agricola in *De formando studio* auf Genauigkeit und Anschaulichkeit der Beschreibungen und Erfassen der Tatsachen hinarbeitet, auf den Wert der landssprachlichen Bezeichnungen zu sprechen kommt, häuft Celtis Eigennamen von Völkern, Ländern, Flüssen. In den *Quattuor libri amorum* schwelgt er in Eigennamen. Agricola bezieht sich auf neuplatonisches Denken, Celtis ediert in seinen Wiener Jahren seit 1497 zuerst Apuleius' *De mundo*.¹⁰ In den folgenden Jahren bevorzugt er als Herausgeber Werke, die geheimes Wissen, verborgene Beziehungen andeuten, zeigt eine Neigung zu neuplatonischem Weltverständnis. In *lavdem philosophiae* nennt Gott 'conditor rerum omnium'.¹¹ Celtis sagt in der Einleitung zu Apuleius: 'rerum omnium parens',¹² und aus Boccaccios *Genealogiae deorum gentilium* entlehnt er die Demogorgon-Mythe für seine *Germania generalis*.¹³

Es ist charakteristisch für die verschiedene Denkweise der beiden Männer, dass Agricola in *De formando studio* die *ars memoriae* in der Tradition des Quintilianus¹⁴ berührt und in der Darstellung der Gedächtnisleistung denselben Mechanismus von Zahl und Folge verwendet wie in *De inventione dialectica*, wohingegen Celtis in der *Epitoma in utramque Ciceronis rhetorica cum arte memorativa noua et modo epistolandi utilissimo* sich der *Artis oratoriae epitome*; *Ars epistolaris et Ars memoriae* des Iacobus Publicius, Venetiis 1482, bedient, ohne sie zu erwähnen. Seine Buchstabenligaturen sind als Gedächtnishilfen unbrauchbar.¹⁵

¹⁰ Conradi Celtis quae Vindobonae prelo subicienda curavit opuscula, 13-14.

¹¹ Alardus II, 153.

¹² Celtis (Anm. 10) 13.

¹³ Adel (Anm. 7) 3.

¹⁴ Hauser, 'Quintilian und Rudolf Agricola', 40-41.

¹⁵ Adel (Anm. 7) 6.

Agricola will den Gesprächspartner oder Zuhörer nicht vereinnahmen, sondern er will ihn bewegen, das anzuerkennen, was gut ist. Celtis möchte als Begründer und Organisator des Humanismus anerkannt werden. Er gründet die *Sodalitas litteraria Rhenana* mit dem Ziel, in einer *Sodalitas per universam Germaniam* unter dem Vorsitz Dalbergs ganz Deutschland einzubeziehen.¹⁶

Man sagt, diese *sodalitas* sei nach dem Vorbild der römischen Akademie des Pomponius Laetus und der Akademie von Florenz entworfen worden.¹⁷ Aber wir sollten die Abtei Aduard nicht vergessen, die in Agricolas Gesprächen mit seinen Heilderberger Studenten und mit Dalberg eingewirkt haben mag. In einem Brief an Sixtus Tucher erwähnt Celtis 1491 seine Hoffnung auf die Zuweisung eines Hauses in Ingolstadt 'pro doctrinae et morum compositione',¹⁸ um dort *Academiam illam Platonicam* zu eröffnen. Das kann auf die Erinnerungen Agricolas an Italien weisen, aber auch auf Aduard, auf die Erlebnisse des Celtis in Heidelberg, und natürlich auf die Erfahrungen des Celtis selbst in Italien.

Höchstwahrscheinlich war Bischof Dalberg am 18. April 1487 in Nürnberg zugegen, als Celtis dort zum Dichter gekrönt wurde: denn seine Anwesenheit mit Philipp von der Pfalz zwei Tage vorher ist gesichert.¹⁹ Celtis vermochte ihn, den Freund und Gönner Agricolas, zum Freund zu gewinnen. Gemeinsam mit dem Heidelberg Humanistenkreis besorgte Dalberg die Hrosvit-Ausgabe von 1501.²⁰

Immer wieder zeigt sich Celtis als ein sehr bemühter Mann, aber nicht darauf bedacht, alles selbst zu tun. Er will gefördert werden. Die Entwicklung seiner Beziehungen zu Maximilian ist nicht nur das breiteste Beispiel dafür. Es gewinnt in seinem Verlauf fast Tragik.²¹ Anlässlich der Dichterkrönung gab Celtis das *Conradi Celtis prosecutum ad divum Fridericum tercium pro laurea Appolinari* heraus mit dem von Johannes Canter konstruierten Horoskop der Krönungsstunde. Canter war kaiserlicher Astrolog; aber die Familie Canter in Groningen war mit Agricola befreundet, und Johannes erscheint in der Kölner Universitätsmatrikel am 19. November 1483, in Heidelberg am 4. November 1484.²²

Der im folgenden angedeutete Zusammenhang kann nur vermutet, nicht erwiesen werden. In Pavia war Agricola *praeceptor* der Grafen Johann und Friedrich von Öttingen. Einige Jahre darauf hatten die

¹⁶ Celtis (Anm. 3) 14.

¹⁷ Preiss, 'Konrad Celtis', 278 u.a.

¹⁸ Celtis, *Der Briefwechsel*, 17, 31-32, 32.

¹⁹ Morneweg (Anm. 6) 113.

²⁰ Celtis, *Opera Hrosvite* (1501).

²¹ Adel, 'Die Ode des Konrad Celtis an Hieronymus Haller', 15-17.

²² Keussen, *Die Matrikeln der Universität Köln II*, 131; Toepke (Anm. 3) 377.

Brüder Christoph, Albrecht und Wolfgang von Bayern-Landshut (und Ingolstadt seit 1447) in Italien studiert, Wolfgang in Pavia. Die Geschichte beider Dynastien und die Geschichte Bayerns ergeben, dass bis 1486 gute freundschaftliche Beziehungen bestanden. 1492 wurden die bestehenden Streitigkeiten beigelegt. Um diese Zeit bewog Georg der Reiche von Bayern laut Friedrich Schmidts *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750*²³ Celtis, nach Ingolstadt zu kommen. Es könnte sein, dass Celtis seine Professur in Ingolstadt einem Hinweis, einem günstigen Zufall im Zusammenhang mit seinem verstorbenen Lehrer dankte.

Als Herausgeber zeigt Celtis, solange sein Interesse nicht erlahmt, bemerkenswerte kritische Kraft und Verständnis. Aber stets versucht er, sich selbst ins Licht zu rücken. Er schafft sich eine Art von Kanzleisprache, mit Phrasen wie einer Zeitrechnung, die vom Gründungstag des *Collegium poetarum et mathematicorum* ausging.²⁴ Während er nach 1502 fast nichts mehr selbst edierte, wird er in den Unternehmungen der einzelnen Sodalitäten wiederholt erwähnt. Das wichtigste dieser Werke ist *Melopoeiae sive harmoniae tetricenticae super XXIII genera carminum [...] per Petrum Titronium et alios doctos sodalitatis Litterariae nostrae musicos [...] ductu Chunradi Celtis foeliciter impresse, auguste 1507.*

Die Überlieferung sagt, Celtis habe seine Studenten in Ingolstadt Verse nicht bloss sprechen, sonder singen lassen, um den Studienerfolg zu stärken.²⁵

Tritonius, dem man die Vertonung zuwies, ist in Ingolstadt unter dem 28. Februar 1497 immatrikuliert, eine Woche, bevor Celtis die Berufung nach Wien erhielt. Er verliess Ingolstadt im Herbst. Das ergibt eine kurze Zeit für die Gemeinsamkeit der beiden Männer, und die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass Tritonius die Noten setzte, wird weiter vermindert dadurch, dass er sich in Südtirol und in Padua befand, während Celtis in Wien den *Ludus Diana* verfasste, der am 1. März 1501 auf der Burg zu

²³ Berlin 1892, XXI. Ein Brief von Konrad Amicus an Celtis, datiert Graz, 8. März 1497, scheint eine Beziehung zwischen Celtis und dem Dekan von Öttingen (Ottynge) anzudeuten: Celtis (Anm. 18) 156, 262-264, 263.

²⁴ Adel (Anm. 7) 4. Adel (Anm. 21) 14.

²⁵ Hier und zu den folgenden Überlegungen ist besonders Schuetz zu vergleichen: 'Die Dramen des Konrad Celtis'. Verschiedene Autoren beziehen sich darauf, und sie verweisen auf die zu Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts bestehende starke Neigung zur Musik, zu musikalischer Aufführung von Chören, sodass Celtis offenbar in eine bestehende Strömung eintrat. Jakob Wimpfeling war einer der Förderer, und er hatte durch seine Schüler grossen Einfluss, auch in Heidelberg. In Wien bestand durch Paul Hofhaimer und einige Zeit hindurch auch durch Othmar Luscinius ein weiterer Mittelpunkt (vgl. u.a. Niemöller, 'Othmar Luscinius'; *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* II, 950-954, 952; Moser, *Paul Hofhaimer*).

Linz aufgeführt wurde. Die Noten der sapphischen Strophe im dritten Akt gehen auf die *Sapphica harmonia* in P. Franciscus Nigers Grammatik, Venedig 1480, zurück;²⁶ die Distichen nach dem ersten, zweiten, fünften Akt zeigen die Merkmale der Humanistenode und könnten nur von Tritonius stammen, wenn er sie bereits 1497 geschaffen hätte. Es gibt verschiedene Hypothesen über den Ursprung dieser musikalischen Form, aber keine befriedigt.²⁷ Insbesondere ist es unglaublich, dass ein Musiker vierstimmige isometrische Musik geschaffen haben sollte, die nicht nach Takten, sondern nach Silben gemessen wird. In seinen Bemühungen, den Beginn der Entwicklung aufzuspüren, trifft Alfred Schuetz auf die Tragödien Senecas mit ihren Chören. Er scheint damit wirklich den Punkt gefunden zu haben, in dem alle Voraussetzungen gegeben sind. Agricola kannte – und besass – Senecas Tragödien. Er war Musiker und Komponist – auch von Vokalmusik. Im Juni 1484 bittet er Barbirianus in einem Brief, er möchte ihm einige Gesangskompositionen senden; der *regens chori* in Heidelberg komponiere Musik für neun und zwölf Stimmen, aber er würde drei- und vierstimmige vorziehen. Ein Beweis ist nicht zu erbringen und wird auch nicht mehr erbracht werden, denn Agricolas Noten sind verschollen. 1484 war er nach Heidelberg übersiedelt, er starb 1485 nicht in seinem eigenen Haus, sein Nachlass ist verloren, seine Werke wurden erst nach vielen Jahren gesammelt und herausgegeben. Man darf vermuten, dass Celtis die Anfänge oder den echten Beginn der gesungenen Humanistenode von Agricola her kannte, nicht aber, dass er selbst der Erfinder sei und sich dessen nie gerühmt haben sollte; und weiter, dass er den begonnenen Weg fortsetzte, aber nicht in der Lage war, die Druckvorlagen zu schaffen für das, was seine Studenten praktisch verwirklichten. Dann muss er in Wien für den *Ludus Diana* von 1501 einen Helfer gefunden haben, bevor also mit dem Fachmann Petrus Tritonius im Jahre 1507 der eigentliche Beginn der Humanistenode mit Gesang gegeben ist.

Conradus Celtis ist ein Poet wie auch Agricola, er hat als solcher höheren Ruhm erlangt. Seine Elegien, Oden, Epigramme stellen ein beachtliches Werk dar; auch sie sind daraufhin zu befragen, ob ein Einfluss Agricolas vorliegt. Celtis hatte die Folgen zu tragen, als er in seiner frühen Zeit in Leipzig an Tifernas und an Bohuslaus Hassenstein von Lobkowicz literarischen Diebstahl beging.²⁸ Der Zusammenhang zwischen seiner Lyrik und der des Agricola erinnert den Leser an diesen

²⁶ Niger, *Grammatica latina*, Venetiis: Johannes Lucilius Sanritter, 1480, Hain 11858 [Hain gibt fälschlich 1492 an; BMC: IA. 20923, IGI 6908].

²⁷ Spitz, *Conrad Celtis*, 80.

²⁸ Adel (Anm. 7) 5-6.

Vorgang. Celtis übt die Wiederholung, damit die Annäherung an die Litanei-Struktur, die Ablösung eines Choriambus am Beginn des Hexameters; das ist nicht entscheidend. Er hat Agricolas Verspraxis nicht so sehr nachgeahmt und weitergeführt – seine Neigung zur Alliteration, zum Wortspiel, seine Neigung zu kontrastierenden Wortgruppen, zur Aufeinanderfolge eng verbundener oder identischer Worte: all das gibt es, aber als Ergebnis seiner Erinnerung, nicht freier Nachfolge in der Methode. Zum Erweis stelle ich zwei Verse aus dem Gedicht *Anna mater*, das Agricola in dem Brief an Barbirianus 1484 erwähnt, neben die entsprechenden Verse des Celtis.

Agricola: Cursus et ad caelos hinc patefecit iter²⁹
 Celtis: In caelum per te, virgo, patescit iter³⁰
 Agricola: Nec uacuum sensit pondus habere preces³¹
 Celtis: Tu vacuas clemens non sinis esse preces.³²

1508 stirbt Celtis, ein kranker und einsamer Mann. Seine stolze Ankündigung eines humanistischen Zeitalters bewährte sich nicht. Vor der Wirklichkeit der Reformation verging der schöne Traum der humanistischen Studien und der Faltenwurf ihrer Formen.³³

Man übertreibt, wenn man die *ludi caesarii* der Barockzeit auf den *Ludus Diana* zurückführt. Aber die Humanistenoden gehören zum wesentlichen Bestand der Musik des 16. Jahrhunderts, sie waren daher eingehender zu behandeln. Nur: hier ist Celtis ein Glied in der Kette, die in die Zukunft weist; sein Impuls ist nicht der entscheidende.

De inventione dialectica, als Druckwerk, beginnt seinen Weg etwa eine Generation nach dem Tod des Verfassers und wird dann zu einem tragenden Pfeiler der Überlieferung. Es scheint, dass die Vielfalt der Wirkung an einem Beispiel besonders schön gezeigt werden kann. Es ist bekannt, dass Friedrich Hölderlin seinem Briefroman *Hyperion oder der Eremit in Griechenland* das Motto voranstellte: 'non coerceri maximo, contineri minimo, divinum est'. Im *Thalia*-Fragment bezeichnet er die Quelle: die 'Grabschrift des Loyola'.³⁴ Hugo Rahner hat das lange Zeit unbekannte *Elogium sepulcrale S. Ignatij* aufgefunden,³⁵ es ist auf den Seiten 280 bis 282 der *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu, Antwerpiae 1640*, gegeben und beginnt so:

²⁹ Alardus II, 302.

³⁰ *Poeticum prosecutum ad glorioissimam Dei genetricem* (Anm. 10) 102, 18.

³¹ Alardus II, 304.

³² Celtis (Anm. 30) 102, 32.

³³ Celtis (Anm. 3) 21-22.

³⁴ 'Thalia' November 1794, Hölderlin, *Sämtliche Werke* III, 315, 169.

³⁵ Rahner, 'Die Grabschrift des Loyola', 322; ebenso Rahner, *Ignatius von Loyola*, 422-440, 519-520.

Cuius animus
vastissimo coerceri non potuit orbis ambitu
Eius corpus
humili hoc angustoque tumulo continetur.

Nach vier weiteren Versen folgt die gesuchte Stelle:

non coerceri maximo, contineri tamen a minimo, divinum est.

Dieses Wortmaterial erscheint aber – in umgekehrter Reihenfolge – bereits in Agricolas wohl berühmtester Rede, *In laudem philosophiae*: ‘Quae potest autem maior esse, quae certior philosophiae diuinitas, quām nullis claudi terminis, nullo spatio contineri? uadit enim sacer uiri eruditus animus liber, solutus, nullisque coercitus metis’.³⁶ Hugo Rahner lehnt die Vermutung Franz Zinkernagels ab,³⁷ Kardinal Bellarmin, der die Seligsprechung des Ignatius befürwortete, sei der Verfasser des Textes. Der Druck von 1640 gibt keinen Autornamen an, macht aber klar, dass nicht an eine gesonderte Inschrift auf einem Grabstein zu denken ist.

Hoc sui animi et venerationis perpetuae monumentum
non structum auro vel marmore,
sed tenaci grataque memoria consecratum
OPTIMO MAXIMOQUE, POST DEUM, PATRI
MINIMA IESU SOCIETAS
M.DC.XL. anno suo saeculari primo, posuit, dedicavit.

Die *Synopsis historiae Societatis Iesu*, Löwen 1950, berichtet: ‘Robertus Bellarminus Lovanii orationes habet’ (1570), und: ‘lectiones theologicas etiam Protestantes ex Neerlandia et ex Anglia frequentant’ (1570-1576). In diesem Gebiet wurde Agricolas Werk immer wieder gedruckt.³⁸ Bellarmin und viele andere Mitglieder seines Ordens werden es gekannt haben. Es scheint nicht erweisbar, dass Bellarmin, der 1621, im Jahr vor der Heiligsprechung des Ignatius, starb, das Elogium verfasste, aber der Weg von 1476 nach 1640, von Ferrara nach Löwen, ist glaubwürdig.

Die Worte des Agricola können keinem klassischen Autor mit Bestimmtheit zugewiesen werden. Aber die Wörter ‘divinus’, ‘continere’, ‘coercere’ sind im Wortschatz der *Institutiones oratoriae*³⁹ des Quintilianus

³⁶ Alardus II, 145.

³⁷ Zinkernagel, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte von Hölderlins Hyperion*, 47, Anm.; Rahner (Anm. 35) 321-322.

³⁸ Rudolph Agricola, *Gronings humanist 1485-1985 (Expos. Cat. UBG 1985)*, 88, 97.

³⁹ M. Fabi Quintiliani *Institutiones oratoriae libri XII* edidit Ludwig Radermacher, 2 Teile, Lipsiae 1965, 5. 7. 35., 1. 3. 6., 10. 4. 1., 12. 2. 28.; herzlich danke ich P. Roberto Busa S.J., der mir Hilfe leistete, indem er ebenfalls nach einer antiken Quelle der Grabschrift suchte und so meine Gewissheit erhöhte, dass es keine gibt. Die während der Groninger Konferenz im Oktober 1985 gehaltenen Vorträge stärkten meine Annahmen:

mit eben der Bedeutung, die sie in dem Grabspruch haben, enthalten. Agricola darf also wohl als die eigentliche Quelle angesehen werden: als jener, der, auf alter Überlieferung fussend, die entscheidende Formulierung vorbereitete.

Rodolphus Agricola und Conradus Celtis waren voneinander sehr verschieden. Die Leistung eines eifrig tätigen schöpferischen Geistes erwies sich als wesentlich wirksamer und lebenskräftiger als die ebenfalls mit Eifer ins Werk gesetzte Inszenierung des antiken Erbes.

F. Römer charakterisierte Agricolas Arbeitsmethoden als auf kritischem Quellenvergleich ruhend, ohne sich in seinen Korrekturen immer für die bessere Lesart zu entscheiden: was bei philologischer Arbeit zwar nahe liegt, tatsächlich aber auch die Methode des Konrad Celtis war (vgl. Adel (Anm. 7) 7-8). G. Tournoy bezeugte den neoplatonischen Einfluss auf Agricola, und E. Kessler wies hin auf Agricolas der Renaissance gemäße Auffassung von der Persönlichkeit, wie sei sich in der Bedeutung des VIVO in der Rede *In laudem philosophiae* ausspricht: Dieses Wort steht im Mittelpunkt des Gedenksteins für Konrad Celtis an der Aussenmauer von St. Stephan (Kopie) in Wien. Der Schlussbericht des Thomas Velocianus an P. Volgangus, Abt in Lilienfeld, in der Ausgabe der Oden des Celtis 1513 über Tod und Begräbnis des Celtis schliesst sich allerdings der Vermutung an, dass das Wort auf Pomponius Laetus in Rom zurückzuführen sei.

F. RÖMER

AGRICOLAS ARBEIT AM TEXT DES TACITUS UND DES JÜNGEREN PLINIUS

Der klassische Philologe kommt mit Rudolf Agricola im allgemeinen nur mittelbar in Berührung, z.B. wenn er sich mit der Geschichte seines Faches beschäftigt, in der Agricola zum Mindesten durch seinen Einfluss auf Erasmus einen festen Platz hat.¹ Eine weitere Begegnung kann auf dem Gebiet der Textkritik stattfinden, auf dem Agricolas Name – wenigstens im Hinblick auf eine viel diskutierte Frage – stark an Aktualität gewonnen hat. Damit ist zwar kein zentrales Problem der heutigen Agricola-Forschung angesprochen, wohl aber ein Bereich, der nicht erst für uns zur Voraussetzung eines jeden wissenschaftlichen Studiums antiker Texte geworden ist. Ähnlich wie italienische Humanisten seit dem 14. Jh., so hat sich auch Agricola kritisch mit dem überlieferten Wortlaut der ihm vorliegenden Texte auseinandergesetzt. Am bekanntesten ist dies seit etwa 30 Jahren für Tacitus, es lässt sich aber auch für den Jüngeren Plinius zeigen, und vielleicht gelingt in Zukunft noch der Nachweis für andere Autoren. – Die folgenden Ausführungen werden sich bei Tacitus auf eine zusammenfassende Darstellung der Sachlage beschränken, bei Plinius aber eine etwas grösse Zahl von Textbeispielen bringen, da Agricolas Arbeit am Text dieses Autors bisher noch kaum Beachtung gefunden hat.

Bei Tacitus² geht es hier nur um den zweiten Teil der *Annalen* und die *Historien*, denn der erste Teil der *Annalen* wurde erst im 16. Jh. entdeckt und die kleinen Schriften haben ihre eigene Überlieferung. Die Haupthandschrift der *Ann.* 11ff. und der *Historien* ist der beneventanische Mediceus II aus dem 11. Jh., neben dem wir eine grösse Zahl von Humanistenhandschriften, grösstenteils aus der 2. Hälfte des 15. Jh., kennen: Heute sind es bereits 34, darunter die erst 1951 von C.W. Mendell³ wiederentdeckte Handschrift Agricolas, der Leidensis BPL 16B, geschrieben in Ferrara zwischen 1475 und 1479. Dass es sich um ein Autograph Agricolas handelt, steht im wesentlichen seit der Beweisfüh-

¹ Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850*, 64 und 70 (= Die Klassische Philologie von Petrarca bis Mommsen, 88 und 94).

² Einen umfassenden Überblick über die Literatur zur Tacitusüberlieferung bietet Hanslik, *Lustrum* 17 (1973-74), 172-179 (Nr. 999-1031); vgl. AAHG 27 (1974), 160-164. Fortsetzung bis 1982: Römer, AAHG 38 (1985), 177-180.

³ Mendell, AJPh 72 (1951), 337-345 und AJPh 75 (1954), 250-270.

rung von E. Hulshoff-Pol⁴ im Vorwort der fotomechanischen Ausgabe des Leidensis fest. Hulshoff-Pol machte auch auf ein Exemplar der *Editio princeps* (Venedig, ca. 1472) aufmerksam, das heute in Stuttgart liegt (Inc 2° 15218): Es gehörte Agricolas Freund Dietrich von Plieningen und wurde von mehreren Händen, darunter Agricola und Plieningen, korrigiert. Am Ende des Textes steht, wahrscheinlich von der Hand Plieningers,⁵ »Rhodolphus Agricola recognouit«. Von der damit bezeugten Arbeit Agricolas am Tacitustext hatte man lange Zeit nur sehr unklare Vorstellungen. Die massgeblichen Tacitusausgaben des 18. und 19. Jh. berichten zwar von Lesarten eines *codex Agricolae*, denen man einen gewissen textkritischen Wert zubilligte, aber offenbar hat hier ein Editor vom anderen abgeschrieben, denn die Spuren des *codex Agricolae* verloren sich im 17. Jh. bei Theodor Ryck. Man begann daher schon zu zweifeln, ob dieser Codex je existierte, bis er 1951 von Mendell identifiziert und gleichzeitig als Träger einer vom Mediceus unabhängigen Überlieferung bezeichnet wurde. Sollte Agricola auch als Handschriftenforscher Erfolg gehabt haben? Jedenfalls löste Mendell eine heftige wissenschaftliche Diskussion aus, die den Namen Agricolas in der klassischen Philologie bekannter machte als je zuvor, die aber infolge methodischer Fehler grössere Ausmasse annahm, als notwendig gewesen wäre. Mendell und sein wichtigster Sekundant E. Koestermann kümmerten sich nämlich kaum um die ca. 30 anderen Humanistenhandschriften, und trotz grundsätzlicher Anerkennung des interpolierten Charakters des Leidensis bauten sie ihre Argumentation auf einzelne, scheinbar schlagende Lesarten sowie auf die Tatsache, dass der Leidensis allein von allen Handschriften eine Textverwirrung in *Hist.* 4 nicht aufweist, die auf Blattvertauschung im Archetypus zurückgeht. Eben diese sogenannte dritte Inversion wurde im Stuttgarter Exemplar der *Editio princeps* (= Stuttg) erkannt und durch Zeichen am Rande in die richtige Ordnung gebracht. Weiters stellte sich heraus, dass ein Grossteil der Sonderlesarten des Leidensis (= L) auch als Korrektur in Stuttg zu finden ist, wobei einiges für die Priorität der Inkunabelkorrekturen spricht. Weitere Klarheit konnte gewonnen werden, als in Wien unter der Leitung von R. Hanslik sieben Bücher der *Ann.* bzw. *Hist.* in allen bekannten Handschriften kollationiert wurden. Dabei zeigte sich, dass L nichts anderes ist als ein besonders stark interpoliertes Mitglied der Handschriftengruppe β, dessen stemmatische Entfernung vom Mediceus

⁴ Hulshoff-Pol, *Tacitus, Codex Leidensis. Codices Graeci et Latini, tom. XX, XVIII-XXIV*. Weiter abgesichert wurde die Identität Agricolas mit dem Schreiber des Codex Leidensis von Seel, »Zum Überlieferungswert des Tacitus-Codex Leid. BPL 16B«, *Stud. Clas* 14 (1972), 101-103.

⁵ Auskunft von Dr. W. Irtenkauf, Württemberg. Landesbibliothek Stuttgart.

Schritt für Schritt nachweisbar ist. Eine völlige Unabhängigkeit des Leidensis kam jetzt nicht mehr in Frage, und auch Koestermann zog sich 1965 auf den Standpunkt zurück, dass L zwar letztlich von M abgeleitet, aber nach einer unabhängigen Überlieferung korrigiert sei. Für die Beurteilung dieser These kommt es ganz besonders auf den Wert der einzelnen Lesarten an und natürlich auch darauf, wieviel Sprachkenntnisse, Einfühlungsvermögen und Einfallsreichtum man einem Textbearbeiter des 15. Jh. zutraut. Als Ergebnis einer langen Diskussion kann man festhalten, dass heute nur noch wenige Forscher in L Spuren echter Überlieferung sehen. – Im Bemühen, die Genese von L noch weiter klarzustellen, hat der Verfasser 1976 zu zeigen versucht,⁶ dass die Korrektur der Inkunabel und die weitere Veränderung des Textes in L zwei vergleichbare, aufeinander aufbauende Schritte im Bemühen um einen besser lesbaren Tacitustext sind. Im übrigen hat die geschilderte Entwicklung dazu geführt, dass man sozusagen Ersatz für den Leidensis suchte und hoffte, in anderen Humanistenhandschriften Spuren selbständiger Überlieferung zu finden, doch können die entsprechenden Bemühungen heute als erledigt gelten. Beim Problem des Codex Leidensis aber darf folgendes nicht übersehen werden: Mit dem Nachweis, dass er keine selbständige Überlieferung bietet, ist das, was dabei für Tacitus verlorenging, für Agricola gewonnen. Es sind ja seine Konjekturen und seine Ideen, die führende Tacitusforscher an vielen Stellen für den richtigen Text des Historikers gehalten haben!

Mit den folgenden Textstellen sollen nicht die Argumente zu den eben referierten Standpunkten nachgeliefert werden; vielmehr soll auf der Grundlage der bisherigen Ausführungen die Arbeitsweise Agricolas an einigen ausgewählten Beispielen illustriert werden. Agricola ging demnach von einem Text der Gruppe β aus, den er nicht nur an evident korrupten Stellen zu heilen versuchte, sondern öfter auch dort änderte, wo er von den meisten Editoren als korrekt empfunden wird. Dafür hat er nicht nur auf sein eigenes ingenium zurückgegriffen, sondern auch auf Lesarten der Gruppe γ , die ihm offensichtlich zugänglich waren, wie eine Reihe von Übereinstimmungen beweist. Nicht selten sind Verbesserungen Agricolas wie *Ann. 15,17,1* beim Gespräch zwischen den rivalisierenden römischen Feldherrn Paetus und Corbulo: *Ducum inter se brevis sermo secutus est, hoc conquerente...]* *conquerentium M, Stuttg. cett.; -te Stuttg², L.* Die gesamte sonstige Überlieferung lässt das Partizip falsch mit *ducum* übereinstimmen; dass aber nur einer, nämlich Corbulo, Grund zur Beschwerde hat, ist erst Agricola aufgefallen. Eine seiner besten Leistun-

⁶ Römer, *P. Cornelii Taciti Annalium libri XV-XVI*, WS Beih. 6, Wien 1976, LVIII-LXVII.

gen liegt *Ann.* 11,30,2 vor, wo Narcissus zum entscheidenden Schlag gegen Messalina ausholt:⁷ *veniam in praeteritum petens, quod Titios, Vettios, Plautios dissimulavisset*. Die Namen sind in M zu *ei cis uetticis plautio* entstellt, und nur Agr (= Stuttg²,L) hat mit *cicios uectios plaucios (plautios L)* die spätere Verbesserung durch Brotier vorweggenommen. Offenbar hat er durch eine genaue Lektüre der folgenden Kapitel die richtigen Namen erkannt: *Titius Proculus* (11,35,3), *Vettius Valens* (11,31,3; 35,3) und *Plautius Lateranus* (11,36,4; 13,11,2). Nur L bietet *Ann.* 15,72,1 *Petronio Turpiliano*, wo alle anderen Textzeugen das Cognomen zu *Turpiano* verdorben haben und der unmittelbare Zusammenhang keine Hilfe bringt. Man muss bis 14,29,1 (39,3) zurückgehen, um zu sehen, dass der Konsul des Jahres 61 *Petronius Turpilianus* hiess. Wenn es anderseits *Ann.* 15,44,5 in der gesamten Überlieferung ausser L heisst, Nero sei als Wagenlenker »*circulo* – in einem Kreis« gefahren, so ist hier nur dies erstaunlich, dass sonst niemand auf die naheliegende Änderung zu »*curriculo* – auf einem Wagen« kam. Andere Korrekturversuche Agricolas sind missglückt, wie z.B. *Ann.* 16,26,1 *de ipso Thrasea eadem (dixerunt): eadem* fehlt in β,γ; L aber ergänzt *nihil de ipso Thrasea*. Mit einigen Änderungen am korrekt überlieferten Text steht er nicht alleine, z.B. *Ann.* 15,46,1 *gladiatores ... temptata eruptione praesidio militis, qui custos adesset, coerciti sunt*. In Ablehnung oder Verkennung des finalen Relativsatzes schrieb nicht nur Agr *aderat*, sondern auch γ und Koestermann. Für den sprachlich-stilistischen Bereich hat Goodyear⁸ eine Tendenz Agricolas zur »Normalisierung« des taciteischen Latein nachgewiesen, die z.B. in der Beseitigung von Variatio, Ellipse und Asyndeton zum Ausdruck kommt. (Dabei unterlief ihm *Hist.* 3,72,2 eine Zerlegung des Doppelnamens *Suessa Pometia in Suessa Pometiaque!*) Als lexikalische Normalisierung wäre z.B. der Ersatz von *intolerantior* durch *intolerabilior* (Agr und γ) *Ann.* 11,10,3 zu werten. Neben sprachlichen können aber auch inhaltliche Erwägungen zu Texteingriffen führen, z.B. *Ann.* 15,18,2, wo die taciteische Gedankenführung besonders kompliziert wird: Nero lässt verdorbenes Getreide in den Tiber werfen, *quo securitatem annonae sustentaret*. Agr schrieb hier *ostentaret*, was zunächst einleuchtend erscheint und auch von H. Fuchs gedruckt wurde: ... um die Sicherheit der Getreideversorgung zur Schau zu stellen. Tacitus meint aber *securitas* hier (wie öfter) nicht objektiv als »Sicherheit«, sondern subjektiv als »Gefühl der Sicherheit, Vertrauen«, also ... um das Vertrauen (nämlich des Volkes) in die Getreideversorgung aufrecht zu erhalten. Denn wer minderwertiges Getreide weg wirft,

⁷ Zusammenfassend-abschliessende Stellungnahme bei Heubner, »Leidensis redivivus?«, WS N.F. 12 (1978), 169-170.

⁸ Goodyear, CQ N.S. 15 (1965), 299-322 und CQ N.S. 20 (1970), 365-370.

der hat offenbar noch genügend gutes auf Lager; »aufrecht erhalten« aber ist das überlieferte *sustentare*. Den konjunkturalen Fähigkeiten Agricolas, die keineswegs bestritten werden sollen, waren also doch Grenzen gesetzt. Manche seiner Eingriffe können überhaupt nur noch als Willkür bezeichnet werden: *Ann. 16,1,2* erzählt ein Caesellius Bassus dem Kaiser Nero von einem Traumbild goldener Säulen: (*columnae*) *quae per tantum aevi occulta augendis praesentibus bonis*. Daraus machte Agr *quae nihil portant* (-ent L) *uerum occultandis praesentibus bonis*. Ein solches Neu-Schreiben des Textes erinnert an das unbekümmerte Selbstbewusstsein, mit dem die italienischen Humanisten oft an die Texte herangingen, und bei ihnen hat Agricola ja lange Jahre gelernt. So ist es nicht allzu erstaunlich, dass er etliche Konjekturen mit den ihm kaum bekannten Genueser Handschriften gemeinsam hat, deren Archetypus von Johannes Andrea de Bussi aus Vigevano bearbeitet wurde, einem der produktivsten Editoren früher Drucke. So haben Gen und Agr *Hist. 2,14,1* aus dem *uniuersa mire uirorum alam* von M richtig *uniuersam Trevirorum alam* hergestellt, was sich aus *2,14,3 Trevirorum turmae* ja leicht erkennen liess.

Als Ergebnis längerer Untersuchungen schien also festzustehen, dass L das Produkt einer zweimaligen Bearbeitung des Tacitus-Textes durch Agricola ist, deren erste Phase in Stuttg² vorliegt. Einige Sonderlesarten von L wirkten dabei nicht allzu störend, zumal es sich um eher unbedeutende Flüchtigkeitsfehler handelt. Vor kurzem aber stellte sich heraus, dass die Sachlage noch komplizierter ist, und an die Stelle des bis dahin angenommenen, linearen Nacheinander von Stuttg² und L tritt weitgehend ein Nebeneinander. Schon 1979 hatte J. Ruysschaert⁹ auf eine übersehene Handschrift in Pavia aufmerksam gemacht (Aldini 434), aber erst vor kurzem konnte der Verfasser die Lesarten dieser Handschrift überprüfen.¹⁰ Ald gehört danach nicht nur in die Gruppe β, sondern steht dem Leidensis näher als irgendeine andere Handschrift.¹¹ Weiters enthält Ald zahlreiche γ-Lesarten, darunter alle einigermassen signifikanten von denen, die auch in (Stuttg² und) L Aufnahme gefunden haben. Dagegen fehlen Ald alle »ingeniosen« Textgestaltungen, die L entweder alleine oder mit Stuttg² gemeinsam hat. Es ist also nicht anzunehmen, dass Ald von L abhängt, denn in diesem Fall hätte der Schreiber alle mit Stuttg² gemeinsamen und alle eigenständigen »Kon-

⁹ Ruysschaert, »Juste Lipse, éditeur de Tacite«, 55, Anm. 6.

¹⁰ Römer, »Die Tacitus-Handschrift in Pavia und die Entstehung des Leidensis«, *Festschrift für A. Betz, Archäolog.-Epigraph. Studien* 1, Wien 1985, 519-528.

¹¹ Das zeigen Auslassungen (z.B. *Ann. 16,18,1 dites*), Umstellungen (z.B. *Ann. 15,2,2 redire ad signa] ad signa redire*) und Sonderfehler (z.B. *Ann. 15,45,1 etiam dii cessere] duces etiam fuere* – cf. *etiam duces fuere β,γ*), die sich ausschliesslich in Ald und L finden, also auch nicht in der Inkunabel.

jekturen« von L einschliesslich der gelungenen ausgeschieden und durch einen Gebrauchstext ersetzt, die Überlieferungsfehler gängigen Typs aber beibehalten. Der Gesamtbefund ist nur so zu erklären, dass Ald (oder eine ganz nahe verwandte, heute verlorene Handschrift) die Hauptvorlage Agricolas war, aus der er auch seine γ -Lesarten nahm, dass er aber gleichzeitig mit der *Editio princeps* arbeitete, der er gelegentlich den Vorzug gab und in die er (bzw. ein Freund) einen Teil seiner textkritischen Ideen eintrug. Am Charakter von Agricolas eigenen Textgestaltungen hat sich damit nichts geändert, wohl aber hat sich seine Arbeitsweise als noch differenzierter und umsichtiger herausgestellt, als man vor dem Bekanntwerden der Handschrift aus Pavia annehmen konnte.

Soviel in den letzten Jahrzehnten über Agricolas Tacitus gearbeitet wurde, so wenig Interesse hat die parallele Situation beim Jünger Plinius gefunden, vor allem wohl deshalb, weil dessen Briefe – zum Mindesten auf weite Strecken – besser überliefert sind als das Werk des Tacitus. Nur R. Mynors hat in seiner Oxford-Ausgabe von 1963 für einige schlecht bezeugte Briefe einen von Agricola revidierten Codex herangezogen. Insgesamt ist Agricolas Arbeit am Pliniustext für uns aber aus drei Exemplaren der Pliniusbriefe erkennbar, bei denen es viele Parallelen zu den eben besprochenen Tacitustexten gibt. Es sind dies (1.) ein Exemplar der 1471 erschienenen *Editio princeps* mit zahlreichen Anmerkungen und Korrekturen, (2.) eine in Ferrara für Dietrich von Plieningen geschriebene Handschrift, datiert 26. Feb. 1478; ein Grossteil ihrer Marginalien ist mit denen der Inkunabel identisch. Auch die Inkunabel gehörte Plieningen, und beide Bücher kamen auf demselben Weg wie die Tacitus-Inkunabel über Komburg nach Stuttgart. (Inc. 2° 13110, 2. ex. = Inc und Cod. poet. 4° 30 = P) Das dritte Exemplar ist ebenfalls ein 1478 in Ferrara geschriebener Codex, denn am Ende steht: »Rodolphus Agricola phrisius Ferrariae absolut Anno christi Mcccc° lxxvii°kI.decembr.« Die Handschrift liegt heute in derselben Bibliothek wie Agricolas Tacitus, nämlich in Leiden. (Voss. Lat. 4° 80 = L) Dafür, dass Agricola selbst der Schreiber ist, spricht nicht nur das »absolut«, das alleine noch kein ausreichender Beweis wäre, sondern auch Schriftvergleiche.¹² Auf jeden Fall aber geht die Textgestaltung des »Plinius Leidensis« auf Agricola zurück, denn sie stimmt fast völlig mit den Besonderheiten der Stuttgarter Handschrift und der korrigierten Version der dortigen Inkunabel überein, die nach zeitgenössischen Vermerken beide von Agricola bearbeitet wurden. Der Kolophon von P lautet nämlich: »C. Plinii Secundi noui comensis uiri consularis et

¹² Dazu Seel (vgl. Anm. 4), 102.

oratoris clarissimi epistolarum liber diligenter per rhodolphum agricolam frisum recognitus. exscriptus pro theodorico plinio germano scolastico tunc ferrarie anno 1478 . 26 februarii . hercule duce estense imperante foeliciter«. Diese Eintragung stammt nicht vom Schreiber der Handschrift, sondern von einer zweiten Hand, die mit der des Tacitus Leidensis identisch¹³ und damit die des Rudolf Agricola ist. Im gleichen Wortlaut wurde der Kolophon der Plinius-Inkunabel handschriftlich ergänzt: »diligenter per Rhodolphum agricolam frisum recognitus Anno 1478 Ferrarie«. Dieser Sachverhalt wird durch eine spätere Eintragung (von der Hand des Oswald von Eck) am Beginn der Inkunabel bestätigt: »Hoc opus Epistolarum per Rhodolphum agricolam est diligenter recognitum et correctum uti ipsius manu in margine adscriptae correctiones testantur«. In den einzelnen Randbemerkungen die Hände Agricolas, Plienigens und vielleicht auch noch anderer von Fall zu Fall genau zu unterscheiden dürfte sehr schwierig sein, ist aber für die gegenwärtige Fragestellung auch nicht entscheidend: Wesentlich ist vielmehr, dass die gleichlautende Textgestaltung beider Handschriften und der Inkunabel-Korrekturen von Anfang an als geistiges Eigentum Agricolas bezeugt ist.

Auf dieser Basis soll im folgenden versucht werden, ein Bild von der textkritischen Leistung Agricolas auch für Plinius zu gewinnen. Vorauszuschicken ist ein Hinweis auf die stemmatische Stellung der drei genannten Exemplare innerhalb der Pliniusüberlieferung. Diese kann als zwei- oder dreistämmig betrachtet werden, da von den drei deutlich unterscheidbaren Handschriftenklassen α,β,γ zwei, sc. α und γ, enger verwandt sind. Inc, und zwar schon in der unkorrigierten Form, L und P gehören zu einem Zweig der Klasse γ, der in der Teubneriana von Schuster-Hanslik mit δ bezeichnet wird, erst ab dem 15. Jh. greifbar ist und auch kaum älter sein kann, da er zahlreiche Spuren textkritischer Bemühungen aufweist.¹⁴ Aber auch innerhalb von δ lassen sich Inc,L,P als eine eigene Gruppe abheben. So machen sie allein aus *Celerinae*, der Adressatin von 1,4, ein *celerrimae* und 9,33,7 aus *ibat una] ne timeat*. In seltenen Fällen finden sich auch Übereinstimmungen mit dem erst von Mynors herausgearbeiteten Überlieferungszweig θ, der zwischen α und γ

¹³ Dass der Kolophon und die marginalen Übersetzungen der Graeca in P von derselben Hand stammen wie der Tacitus Leidensis, bestätigte auch Miss A.C. de la Mare, Bodleian Library Oxford, in einer brieflichen Mitteilung an den Verfasser.

¹⁴ Die Zugehörigkeit zu γ bzw. δ ergibt sich schon aus dem Fehlen von Buch 8 und der abweichenden Briefanordnung in den Büchern 5 und 9, aber auch aus vielen Auslassungen, Umstellungen und Sonderlesarten; z.B. 1,5,5 *a Domitiano relegatus] relegatus a Domitiano δ,Inc,L,P; 9,7,4 dirimit] diripuit γ, diripiunt δ,Inc,L,P; ib.: hic ... inflectitur om. γ,δ,Inc,L,P.*

steht und heute in keiner direkten Abschrift mehr erhalten ist, sondern nur noch aus Interpolationen kenntlich wird.

Agricolas Arbeit am Pliniustext geht also von dem interpolierten Überlieferungszweig δ aus. Die Ergebnisse seiner Bemühungen liegen offenbar dort vor, wo die Korrekturen der Inkunabel und die beiden Handschriften (in seltenen Fällen nur die Handschriften) dieselben Sonderlesarten bieten. Dabei lassen sich – wie bei Tacitus – im wesentlichen zwei Typen von Texteingriffen beobachten: (1.) Versuche, evident korrupte Textstellen zu heilen, (2.) Veränderungen des korrekten Textes aus sprachlichen oder sachlichen Erwägungen. Die Qualität von wenigstens einem Teil der Konjekturen Agricolas geht schon daraus hervor, dass Mynors in dem besonders schlecht überlieferten 9. Buch mehrfach auf Agricola zurückgreift. Auch hat erst Mynors (aus L) gesehen, dass die allgemein akzeptierte Version des Schlussatzes von 9,40 und damit der ganzen Sammlung der Privatbriefe im wesentlichen nichts anderes ist als Agricolas Verbesserung des verderbten γ,δ-Textes.¹⁵ Interessante textkritische Versuche Agricolas findet man unter anderem an folgenden Stellen: *Ep. 1,3* fordert Plinius einen Freund auf, sich von den Sorgen des Alltagslebens zu lösen: § 3 *quin tu (tempus enim) humiles et sordidas curas aliis mandas*] δ hat hier *tempus* zu *ipse* verschrieben (Kürzung tps!), Inc ausserdem *enim* ausgelassen. Agr (= Inc², L, P) machte daraus: *quin tu contemnis humiles et sordidas curas aliisque mandas*. Das ist schon recht weit von dem durch α,β (*tempus est enim* α) gesicherten, richtigen Wortlaut entfernt. Stünde die Stelle im Tacitus Leidensis, so hätte man sie wahrscheinlich schon vor dreissig Jahren in die Diskussion um dessen textkritischen Wert mit einbezogen. *Ep. 1,20* geht es um die Vorteile eines ausführlich schildernden Stils. Regulus, der diesen ablehnt, läuft Gefahr, sein Ziel zu verfehlten: § 15 *posse fieri, ut genu esset aut talus, ubi ille iugulum putaret*. Inc hat *ut genuisset* (dies mit β!) *aut sibi aut aliis*, Agr korrigierte zu *ut genu esset aut tibia aut talus*, sodass auf dem Umweg über sinnlose Korruptelen aus dem Bikolon ein (anatomisch konsequentes) Trikolon geworden ist. *Ep. 6,5* erzählt Plinius, wie Licinius Nepos im Senat mit einer Rede Anstoss erregte, die eine schon beschlossene Sache wieder in Frage stellte: § 3-4 (*oratio*) *quae omissa contra dicendi tempore castigaret peractum, cui potuisset occurrere. Iuuentius quidem Celsus praetor tamquam emendatorem senatus ... increpuit*. An der i.a. problemlos überlieferten Stelle hat Inc statt *Iuuentius* ein *uiuentium*, was Agr durch *uenienti tum* ersetzte. Die Herstellung des Richtigen war ihm, wenigstens aus dem Textzusammenhang, nicht möglich, da der Name des *Iuuentius Celsus*

¹⁵ Die Korrektur von *non addas* γ,δ zu *addas* schreibt Mynors allerdings nur irrtümlich Agricola zu: *non* steht unkorrigiert in Inc, L, P.

bei Plinius sonst nicht vorkommt, aber Agricola hat die gesamte Konstruktion verändert: *venienti* ist jetzt offenbar korrespondierend zu *peractum* gedacht: *quae ... castigaret peractum, cui potuisset occurrere uenienti. tum ...* Die Stelle ist auch insofern interessant, als es hier mit besonderer Deutlichkeit erst eine Korruptel in der Editio princeps war, die den Anstoss zu den weiteren Veränderungen gegeben hat. (In L und P fehlt dann auch noch das in Inc vorhandene Wort *praetor*.) Besonders ergiebig ist der erste Vesuvbrief an Tacitus, *Ep. 6,16. § 2 quamvis ipse (avunculus) plurima opera et mansura condiderit, multum tamen perpetuitati eius scriptorum tuorum aeternitas addet. opera - multum om. γ,δ,Inc.* Agr ersetzt den Ausfall sinngemäss durch *scriperit*, was sich auch in θ findet! *§ 8 Egrediebatur domo; accipit codicillos Rectinae Tasci imminentि periculo exterritae.* Der Name ist in den meisten Handschriften entstellt; in δ steht *retine casti*, in Inc *retine irasci*. Agr änderte nicht nur zu *retinere amici*, sondern auch den Druckfehler *exterire* zu *exterrere*, sodass sich eine Schilderung in vier kurzen Sätzen ergibt, deren Ton durch die historischen Infinitive an Erregung gewinnen soll. Nur eine Notlösung fand er dagegen in § 12 *Stabiis erat] stabit er(r)at γ,δ,Inc, iuxta hic erat* Agr. Auch nichts Besseres eingefallen ist dem Korrektor einer θ-Handschrift (q): *scriba is erat. Ep. 9,7* vergleicht Plinius zwei seiner Villen; § 4 hat ein grösserer Ausfall in Agricolas Vorlage den Rhythmus der Gegenüberstellungen gestört: *illic recta gestatio longo limite super litus extenditur, hic spatiostissimo xysto leviter inflectitur; illa fluctus non sentit, haec frangit. hic - inflectitur om. γ,δ,Inc,L,P.* Agr aber spaltete den ersten Satz: *illic retia* (so auch γ,δ, *retro* Inc), *venatio; hic gestatio longa mite* (ähnlich γ,δ) *super litus extenditur*. Agricola hat die plinianische Gedankenführung also klar erkannt und danach das Fehlende frei ergänzt. Zum Teil sogar den originalen Wortlaut wiedergefunden hat er *Ep. 9,10,3 inamabile, inamoenum] et in fama uile (infamabile γ,δ) et amoenum γ,δ,Inc, et in famam uile et inamoenum* Agr (*et inamoenum* auch θ). Schliesslich findet sich 9,39,1 eine ingeniose, wenn auch nur zum Teil richtige Konjektur aufgrund allgemeinen Sachwissens: *(aedes Cereris) cum sit alioqui statio die frequentissima] θ, aliquid cum statio die γ,δ,Inc, alioquin dedicationis die* Agr. War also, wie anzunehmen, die θ-Version Agricola bekannt, so hat er sie nur teilweise für seine Textgestaltung akzeptiert.

Nicht immer schien ihm der übliche, auch von den heutigen Ausgaben gedruckte Text zufriedenstellend. Bei den folgenden Beispielen dürften ihn sprachlich-stilistische Gründe veranlasst haben, das klassizistische Latein des Plinius noch näher an den schulmässig-ciceronischen Sprachgebrauch heranzurücken: *Ep. 1,12,4 ut ipsum (praedicantem add. Agr) audiebam* empfand er offenbar ein stützendes Partizip als notwendig. *Ep. 1,24,4 quantum esset ille mihi, ego tibi debiturus] quantum ille esset (ille esset schon β,δ) mihi, quantum ego tibi debiturus* Agr (*ego om. L, add. mg.*). Damit

sind die beiden Kola zwar parallel eingeleitet und haben die gleiche Wortzahl, dafür aber ist die schon in β, δ beeinträchtigte, rhetorisch wirkungsvolle Kontaktstellung aller vier Pronomina jetzt völlig zerstört. *Ep. 2,9* ist Plinius um Sextus Erucius besorgt: *§ 1 quam pro me sollicitudinem non adi, quasi pro me altero patior*. Hier hat Agricola trotz des *quasi* die Wendung 'alter ego' nicht verstanden, denn er schreibt *in altero*. *Ep. 2,13* bittet Plinius den einflussreichen Priscus um Unterstützung eines seiner Freunde: *§ 2 Convertere ad nostros (amicos) nec hos multos*. Agricolas *conuerte* scheint darauf hinzuweisen, dass er mit dem passiven Imperativ nicht zurechtgekommen ist. – Ebensooft wie sprachliche dürften inhaltliche Anstösse zu Agricolas Änderungen geführt haben. *Ep. 1,6* studiert Plinius während einer Jagd: *§ 2 Non est quod contemnas hoc studendi genus*. Unmittelbar davor aber war vom Schreiben die Rede, sodass bei Agricola (in diesem Fall nur L,P) *scribendi* steht. *Ep. 2,4* beginnt: *Si pluribus pater tuus vel uni cuilibet alii quam mihi debuisset*, »Hätte Dein Vater bei mehr Leuten oder auch nur bei einem beliebigen anderen ausser mir Schulden gehabt« (Kasten). Das *quam* könnte auf den ersten Blick grammatisch anstössig erscheinen, obwohl es durch den negativen Gesamtsinn gerechtfertigt ist. Durch *plus quam mihi* wollte Agr entweder den scheinbaren grammatischen Anstoss beseitigen oder er wollte aufgrund allgemeiner Wahrscheinlichkeit Plinius vom einzigen Gläubiger zum Hauptgläubiger machen. Schwer zu beurteilen ist 6,22,2: *Lustricius Brutianus cum Montanium Atticinum comitem suum in multis flagitiis reprehendisset, Caesari scripsit. Atticinus flagitiis addidit, ut quem deceperat accusaret. Recepta cognitio est. reprehendisset - flagitiis del. Inc², om. L,P,θ(q); additis δ,Inc,θ(q); addito etiam quod Agr.* Wenn Agricola zu dieser Streichung zunächst vielleicht auch nur durch das Fehlen der entsprechenden Worte in einer anderen Handschrift veranlasst wurde, so muss er doch auch sprachliche oder sachliche Schwierigkeiten gesehen haben. War ihm der Stil zu abgehackt, störte ihn der Brief an den Kaiser, oder sollte es nicht die Anklage von Seiten des Verbrechers sein, die der Senat auf die Tagesordnung setzte? In Agricolas Version ist das Subjekt von *accusaret* ja *Lustricius*. Ausserdem ist durch die Änderungen eine lange, »ciceronische« Periode entstanden: *Lustricius Brutianus cum ... / addito etiam quod deceperat / accusaret, recepta cognitio est.* – Wir sehen also, dass Agricola bei der Bearbeitung seines Pliniustextes ähnlich wie bei Tacitus vorging. Neben gelungenen Korrekturen und ingeniosen Änderungen stehen eher willkürliche Eingriffe. Dass deren Zahl geringer ist als bei Tacitus, erklärt sich durch das konventionellere Latein des Plinius und den besseren Erhaltungszustand seines Textes. Die Tendenzen aber sind die gleichen, und sie entsprechen der Vorgangsweise von Agricolas italienischen Fachkollegen, an deren Methoden er sich geschult hat.

Nur kurz soll auf die Frage nach dem Verhältnis der drei Exemplare von Agricolas Pliniustext zueinander eingegangen werden, da auch daraus Aufschlüsse über seine Arbeitsweise zu erwarten sind. Besonders eng verwandt sind die beiden Handschriften L und P, wie schon aus einem Teil der eben besprochenen Beispiele hervorging. Hier noch ein weiteres: *Ep. 2,12* spricht Plinius von der Schande, dass man einen verurteilten Statthalter weiterhin im Senat sitzen liess: § 4 *sed hoc pluribus visum est*, »doch die Mehrheit war dafür«. Nur L,P ergänzen ... *leuius uisum est*, »doch der Mehrheit schien dies nicht allzu wichtig«. Da der Text von L,P immer wieder mit Inc² übereinstimmt, ergibt sich die Frage, ob die Inkunabel nach einer der Handschriften korrigiert wurde oder ob die Handschriften Kopien der vorher korrigierten Inkunabel sind. Im ersten Fall wäre die Inkunabel zufällig nach einer Handschrift korrigiert worden, mit der sie enger verwandt war als mit irgendeiner anderen. Für die zweite Möglichkeit spricht die Tatsache, dass manche Versionen Agricolas (= Inc²,L,P) nur als Verbesserungen von Sonderfehlern der *Editio princeps* erklärbar sind. Vgl. von den besprochenen Stellen vor allem 6,5,4 *Iuentius>uiuentium>uenienti tum*. Leicht überschaubar ist die schrittweise Änderung *Ep. 9,35,1*: *Librum quem misisti recepi*], *recepi om.* γ,δ,Inc. Inc² hat bei *librum* ein *accepi* über die Zeile geschrieben, und so steht in L,P *Accepi librum quem misisti*. Sehr beweiskräftig erscheint auch *Ep. 6,31,1*: *Evocatus in consilium a Caesare nostro ad Centum Cellas (hoc loco nomen) magnam cepi voluptatem*. Nach der Änderung von *magnam* zu *maximam* γ,δ hat Inc *hoc longo nomine maximam ...*, und erst durch Weiterentwicklung dieser (geradezu infantilen) Version entsteht Inc²,L, P *hoc nomine longe maximam cepi voluptatem*, wobei *hoc nomine* jetzt wohl »aus diesem Grund« heissen soll. Bezuglich des Verhältnisses von L und P ist zu bemerken, dass P in ganz seltenen Fällen dem Konsens von Inc und L widerspricht (z.B. *Ep. 1,14,6* *habet] habuit* P), L aber nie allein gegen Inc und P zu stehen scheint – wenn man von dem gesonderten Problem der Graeca absicht. Dieser Befund würde für L als Vorlage von P sprechen, ebenso ein Fall wie *Ep. 1,24,4*, wo P statt *arbusculas* nur *busculas* hat, denn dieses Wort ist in L nach *ar-* am Zeilenende abgeteilt! Dagegen stehen freilich die Datierungen, nach denen P im Februar, L aber erst im Dezember 1478 abgeschlossen wurde. Anderseits kann sich »absolut« auch auf einen kleineren Zusatz beziehen, etwa die (teils marginale) Eintragung von griechischen Textstellen in L. Schon die bisherigen Beobachtungen, vollends aber die Graeca mitsamt ihren Übersetzungen machen es immer wahrscheinlicher, dass bei der Arbeit, die Agricola 1478 am Pliniustext geleistet hat, nicht an ein strenges Nacheinander, sondern vielmehr auch an ein Nebeneinander zu denken ist. Der Drucker der *Editio princeps* hatte nämlich den Platz für die griechischen

Wortgruppen, die Plinius gelegentlich einstreut, frei gelassen, und die entsprechenden Nachträge im Stuttgarter Exemplar sind schlechter und unvollständiger als die Graeca in P. Während Inc und P das Griechische im Text und eine Übersetzung am Rand haben, ist es in L oft umgekehrt.¹⁶ Weiters wurden die Übersetzungen der Graeca in den Marginalien von P als eigenhändige Eintragungen Agricolas identifiziert.¹⁷ Er kann die griechischen Textstellen, die er übersetzte, nach dem eben Gesagten aber nicht aus der Inkunabel gehabt haben, sondern nur aus einer ausserhalb unserer Dreiergruppe stehenden Quelle. Es liegt nahe, an das Exemplar mit θ-Lesarten zu denken, das im lateinischen Text zwar nicht allzuviiele Spuren hinterlassen hat, mit dessen Benutzung durch Agricola man aber doch rechnen muss, will man nicht an textkritische Spontanparallelen denken.

Obwohl also manches Detail noch offen bleiben muss, hat sich für Agricolas Arbeit am Plinius- und am Tacitustext doch ein recht einheitliches Bild ergeben. Bei beiden Autoren konnte er von mehr als einem Textzeugen ausgehen, wobei Inkunabeln aus dem Besitz des Dietrich von Plieningen eine wichtige Rolle spielten. Dort sind manche von Agricolas Korrekturen zu finden, am vollständigsten aber in eigenhändig geschriebenen Codices, die uns heute noch erhalten sind. Die Texte, von denen Agricola ausgehen musste, gehörten sekundären und stark interpolierten Überlieferungszweigen an. Er bearbeitete sie in einer Art freier Konjunkturalkritik, bei der in gleicher Weise wie bei den italienischen Humanisten Licht und Schatten wechselten. Manchmal oberflächlich, von zwar ausgeprägten aber falschen Stilvorstellungen geleitet oder von voreiligen Schlüssen verführt, hat er anderseits aufgrund seiner engen Vertrautheit mit der Antike doch oft das Richtige gesehen und manche Konjektur vorweggenommen, die erst viel später unter dem Namen eines jüngeren Gelehrten in die Ausgaben kam. Die Textkritik ist sicher nicht das Gebiet, auf dem Agricolas eigentliche Bedeutung liegt – aber auch hier hat er sein ingenium unter Beweis gestellt, sodass die Ergebnisse seiner Studien noch ein halbes Jahrtausend nach seinem Tod zu einem viel diskutierten Problem werden konnten.

¹⁶ Ep. 1,20,17 berücksichtigt die Übersetzung in Inc ein Wort, das im danebenstehenden griechischen Text fehlt: καὶ μόνος τῶν ὁγιτόφων <...> ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις - *et solus rhetorum aculeum reliquit auditoribus*. Es fehlt τὸ κέντρον, das L am Rand und P im Text haben. Bei dem an griechischen Zitaten besonders reichen Brief 9,26 hat der Griechisch-Schreiber der Inkunabel überhaupt resigniert.

¹⁷ Vgl. Anm. 13.

CATRIEN SANTING

THEODORICUS ULSENIUS, ALTER AGRICOLA?

THE POPULARITY OF AGRICOLA WITH EARLY DUTCH HUMANISTS

Introduction

Most contributors to this conference will speak or have already spoken about Rudolph Agricola himself. Since I am working on one of the younger followers of Agricola, Theodoricus Ulsenius, I would like to discuss Ulsenius and the influence Agricola had on the life and work of this early Dutch humanist.

While searching for writings of Ulsenius in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek at Munich, I came upon manuscript *clm 528*. This contains a collection of several humanist writings copied by the Nuremberg humanist Hartmann Schedel. It can be divided into two parts. The first part contains works of Italian heroes of German humanism, such as Berosus Calderinus, Pomponius Laetus and Nicolaus Burtius. Part two consists of writings by the verse-making brethren, clerks and school-teachers of Dutch humanism, such as Rudolph von Langen, Fredericus Moorman, Anthonius Liber, Bartholomeus Coloniensis and also of Rudolph Agricola and Theodoricus Ulsenius. To provide a smooth transition from south to north Schedel inserted, in the middle of the collection, an *epicedion* by the Italian C. Paulus Amaltheus, on emperor Frederick III.¹

Many poems of Ulsenius and his Dutch friends give proof of their overwhelming admiration for Agricola, but the work of Ulsenius also shows how he took advantage of Agricola's fame for his own benefit. Therefore the two main elements of this paper will be the veneration for Agricola of a minor humanist like Ulsenius and his use of Agricola's fame for his own purposes.

It is possible to give an impression of the intellectual network in the Low Countries at the end of the fifteenth century on the basis of the contents and of the contributors to *clm 528*. A group of humanist friends,

For their help in shaping my English text and the Latin quotations I wish to thank Prof. R. Vaughan and Dr. F. Akkerman respectively.

¹ The Italian contributors: *clm 528*, fo. 3-174; on them Stauber, *Der Schedelsche Bibliothek*, 83 and 118; the Dutch contributors: *clm 528*, fo. 175-209; Paulus Amaltheus: Ellinger, *Geschichte der Neulateinischen Literatur* I, 347.

who were all born in the northern and eastern parts of the present-day Netherlands and the adjacent north-western regions of what is now called the Federal Republic of Germany, lived and worked here in this period. Although many artists and learned men in the fifteenth century trekked from the northern Netherlands to the rich Burgundian cities in Flanders and Brabant, this seems not to have been in every respect a 'brain-drain'. Unlike, for example, the painters Gerard David and Dirc Bouts, the humanist-inspired intellectuals either stayed home or went to (southern) Germany. Precisely these *sodales* played a crucial part in the development of humanist learning in the rest of the Netherlands and in Germany.²

Short biography of Ulsenius

The humanist and medical doctor Theodoricus Ulsenius has been nearly forgotten by history. Perhaps this is understandable if literary quality is a criterion but not if one is interested in the ideals, ideas, knowledge and life of the average fifteenth-century intellectual. The existing accounts of Ulsenius's life and work are all inaccurate. Therefore I shall give a brief biographical sketch.³

Theodoricus Ulsenius was born around 1460 in Zwolle. He studied arts and medicine, probably in Germany and Italy. In 1487 the young *artium et medicinae doctor* returned to the Netherlands. He was appointed to the post of town physician in Kampen on the IJsselriver; this town was an important member of the Hanseatic League. Between 1488 and 1492 Ulsenius probably worked in Deventer as a doctor. This we can gather from the two poetic farewells exchanged between Ulsenius and Alexander Hegius, when the first left for Nuremberg. Hartmann Schedel or one of his fellow humanist medical doctors appears to have invited him to become a town physician of that town. In the nearly ten years Ulsenius lived in Nuremberg, he wrote many poems and some medical treatises. He became a friend of the German archhumanist Conrad Celtis. Moreover, Ulsenius moved in the court circles of emperor Maximilian at Linz, Innsbruck and Vienna.

After an unfortunate bankruptcy he left Nuremberg to become for one year professor of medicine at Mainz. Probably in 1503 he paid a visit to Augsburg. In the next year Ulsenius was appointed professor of medicine

² On the movements of artists and intellectuals: Blockmans, *Mobiliteit van Cultuurdragers*.

³ The latest article on Ulsenius is: Lawn, 'Dietrich Ulsen and the Speculator Broadside' in his *Salernitan Questions* (1963), 113-128; besides Lier in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 39 (1895) 270-271; *Der Briefwechsel des Conrad Celtis*, 90.

at the Freiburg university. Apparently this university was not very satisfied with Ulsenius as a professor and he left within a year. After a short stay at Cologne, where the humanist-doctor attended the Reichstag and paid a visit to Johannes Trithemius, he moved north and started a medical practice and chemist's shop at Lübeck. While living in this town he was also the personal physician of the syphilitic dukes of Mecklenburg. Ulsenius then returned to the Netherlands. Shortly after his arrival he died at 's Hertogenbosch in January 1508 and was buried near the altar of the medical twins SS. Cosmas and Damian in St. John's cathedral.⁴

Agricola, Ulsenius and clm 528

All authors except Ulsenius who figure in what could be called the 'Dutch' part of *clm 528*, are among those recommended by Erasmus to his friend Cornelius Aurelius. Aurelius had spoken very unfavourably about the state of Dutch literature, and Erasmus wrote back indignantly:

I am most surprised that you describe him (*Hieronymus Balbus*) as the only writer who follows the path of antiquity: for it seems to me that I see countless well-schooled writers of the present day, not to mention yourself, who approach quite closely the ancient ideal of eloquence. I think immediately of Rodolphus Agricola, the former teacher of my own teacher Alexander. He was a man not only exceptionally well educated in all the liberal arts, but also extremely proficient in oratory and poetry, and moreover as well acquainted with Greek as with Latin.

Next Erasmus trumpeted forth praises of Alexander Hegius, of Rudolph von Langen and Anthonius Liber (to be correct, Erasmus' text jumbles their names to 'Antonius Gang'), Fredericus Moorman and Bartholomeus Coloniensis.⁵ All these men held Agricola in very high esteem. Although they themselves did not cut a poor figure in the world of the *bonae litterae*, they saw him as their elevated spiritual guide.

In the *epitaphia* on Agricola two things are nearly always said: that he was the first to bring the new learning north and secondly that he was easily a match for the Italians.⁶ Two anonymous epitaphs in *clm 528* indeed praise Agricola who helped 'father Rhine to tongue-tie the Tiber'

⁴ See note 3; Oud-Archief Kampen, inventarisnummer 11, fo. 225; *clm 428*, fo. 237v; Archief Bisdom St. Jan, inventarisnummer 0, fo. 16v.

⁵ Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum I* (ed. Allen), *Ep. 23*, 52-58. For the quotation I made use of the Toronto translation in: *The Correspondence of Erasmus I*, 38-39; Alexander Hegius is not represented in *clm 528*, but the two poetic farewells exchanged by Hegius and Ulsenius are copied by Schedel in a codex now Bayerische Staatsbibliothek *clm 428*, fo. 237v.

⁶ Waterbolk, 'Deux poèmes inconnus de Rodolphe Agricola?', 37.

and 'took the Delphic mysteries from the Aonic Mountains to the waters of the Rhine'.⁷ Next is an epitaph on Agricola by Ulsenius:

Hic iacet Agricola Phrisius, decus omne virorum,
 Qui Graio et Latio claruit eloquio.
 Adde quod Orpheos potuit superare, sed altum
 Quicquid in humanis, invida fata premunt.
 Funde preces, lector: nostri modo busta Rodolphi
 Terra parens rapuit, sydera mens subeat.⁸

Agricola, Ulsenius and St. Judocus

In *clm* 528 this praise of Agricola is followed by a couple of folios which contain a work by Agricola himself. Folio 176r begins with the words: 'Regia progenies veterum stirps clara Britannum', which is the first verse of Agricola's *Carmen heroicum de vita divi Judoci*. Agricola wrote this hymn as an expression of gratitude for his recovery in Ferrara from dysentery and quartan fever in 1476. He was nursed there by his friend Adolph Occo. The poem is a short survey in hexameters of Judocus's life.⁹

It is striking that Hartmann Schedel copied this work in 1497, though it was not printed until many years later, for the first time in 1508. Of course it was common practice in those days for writings to circulate in manuscript form among friends and acquaintances before being printed, if they were put into print at all. It is my hypothesis that Ulsenius brought the poem on St. Judocus with him when he moved from the Netherlands to Nuremberg in 1492.¹⁰

This is even more likely because in later years Ulsenius wrote an adaptation of Agricola's poem. His *De sancto Judoco hymnus* is a rewriting in sapphic strophes of Agricola's *Carmen heroicum*. It must be admitted that the resemblance is clearest in the first strophes. Towards the end of Ulsenius's poem Agricola's Judocus can hardly be recognised. The first verses by Agricola (here quoted from the manuscript) and the adaptation by Ulsenius run as follows:

⁷ *Clm* 528, fo. 175r and 207r: '... Efflue, Rhene pater, felicibus altior undis / Non solum imperio sed premis ore Tybrim'; '... (Agricola) Rheni qui primus ad undas/ Duxit ab Aoniis Delphica sacra iugis'.

⁸ *Clm* 528, fo. 175r. The ms. reads in the last verse: 'sydera rapuit'; Prof. IJsewijn suggested that in order to get a correct pentameter, these words have to be interchanged.

⁹ Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 92-93.

¹⁰ The first printing in *Prudentii carmen de martyrio divi Cassiani ... etc.* Cologne (Quentell) 1508 (Huisman, *Bibliography*, no. 5); later it appeared in *Rodolphi Agricolae ... nonnulla opuscula*, Antwerp (Martens) 1511 (Huisman, *Bibl.*, no. 4), 51-53; Agricola, *Lucubrationes* (Alardus II, 1539), 310-313; in principle other humanists, such as Jacob Canter, could have taken the poem to Schedel; on Canter and Nuremberg: Ebels-Hoving, *Dialogus de Solitudine* (c. 1491), 43-47.

Carmen heroicum de vita divi Judoci

Regia progenies, veterum stirps clara Britannum,
 Ecce nitet rutila Judocus luce per orbem,
 Ingens quale micat sidus, quo sepe viator
 Nocte regens iter et montis prerupta vel undas
 Stagnantis fluvii nigreve paludis hiatum
 Effugit et multo mercatur lumina voto.
 Magna salus hominum, dubiis spes magna que rebus,
 Luctu magna ferens animis solacia pressis,
 Sidera qui meritis qui terras nomine complet.

...

De sancto Judoco hymnus per Theodoricum Ulsenium¹¹

Regie stirpis soboles Britanna,
 Ecce Judocus rutilat per orbem,
 Ut micat sidus nitidum, petit quod
 Sepe viator,
 Nocte per montes tenebrosus altos
 Dum fugit nigre rapidum paludis
 Flumen et multa precibusque poscit
 Lumina voce.

Magna spes menti dubiisque rebus
 Et salus votis animoque presso
 Siderum sedes meritoque terras
 Nomine complet.

...

De sancto Judoco hymnus was printed in 1509 by Richard Paffraet of Deventer. This edition begins with six introductory poems by leading humanists of the day: Petrus Bonomus, Conrad Celtis, Hieronymus Emser, Theodoricus Gresemund, Bartholomeus Coloniensis and Servatius Aedicollius Agrippinus.^{11a} In none of these laudations is there an allusion to Agricola and his Judocus. Conrad Celtis had a different reason for in mentioning Agricola in his eulogy. The ever returning theme of the Frisian son of the muses by whom the North came into contact with the renaissance of letters can be noted in the poem below. Celtis expressed Agricola's greatness and enormous reputation. Adolph Occo and Ulsenius are praised together with Agricola as the three Frisian sons of the muses. One might say that they shared crumbs from Agricola's table.

¹¹ *De Sancto Judoco Hymnus* in Nijhoff and Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie 1500-1540* II, no. 3999; Lawn's suggestion that Ulsenius' poem is a sign of repentance is without any foundation. Lawn did not see the connection with Agricola: 'Dietrich Ulsen', 119.

^{11a} Cf. Mezzanotte, 'Una nuova testimonianza della Fortuna Petrarchesca nei Paesi Bassi'.

C. Celtis poete laureati¹²

Tribus poetis Phrisia nobilis
 Claret: Rodolphus primus Agricola,
 Qui Greca miscebat Latinis
 Et cithara cecinit canora

Rheni per urbes atque per Italas
 Notusque Gallis atque Britannicis
 Et qua tumescit fluctuosus
 Danubius bibulis harenis.

Adulphus alter, qui medicus fuit
 Clarus per oram nostram Alemanicam,
 Doctus Pelasgis disciplinis
 Et Latiis pariter Camenis.

Ulsenius, sed carmine maximus,
 In tercio nunc ordine fulgidus
 Morbos fugat blandusque tristes
 Carminibus relevare mentes,

Qui variis mundum experientiis
 Artem medendi dans peragraverat
 Et Maximilianum secutus
 Indice numine vel Iodoci.

Adolph Occo (1449-1503) was a friend of Agricola's and a sort of executor of his last will. Probably he was also an acquaintance of Ulsenius. Both called themselves *caesareus archiatrus* and had moved in the court circles of emperor Maximilian. Occo had lived for years in Augsburg and died there on 24 July 1503. Still in the same year the Augsburg printer Johan Froschauer published an edition by Ulsenius of Hippocrates' *De insania Democriti*. This work also contains a long *epicedion* on Occo by Ulsenius in which Occo is addressed as now living among the 'Elysian Muses'.¹³

Celtis's praise for Ulsenius in the third part of his poem is not inconsiderable. These two humanists knew each other very well. When Celtis was not in Nuremberg, they kept up a busy correspondence. The two existing versions of a certain laudatory poem on Celtis by Ulsenius throw a curious light on the nature of their friendship. In the panegyric

¹² This eulogy by Celtis: *De Sancto Judoco Hymnus* see n. 11, fo. 2, Agricola, *Lucubrationes* (Alardus II), fo. 3r and in Petrus, *De Scriptoribus Frisiae*, 53-54.

¹³ It is not quite certain that Ulsenius was a personal physician to Maximilian; but he calls himself *caesareus archiatrus* in his contract with the dukes of Mecklenburg in 1507; both Occo and Ulsenius are mentioned as such by Kostenzer, 'Medizin um 1500'; *De Insania Democriti*, fo. b11: 'Occo sub Elysias iam nunc revocate camenas'.

added to Conrad Celtis's *Melopoiae* Celtis is praised straightaway. But probably afterwards Ulsenius changed the poem somewhat. He put a second version with one extra distich into circulation: 'Huc prior Ausonias Frisius conducere musas / Agricola, hinc Celtis palma secunda datur'. Maybe this was an act of revenge by Ulsenius who with little success had had to implore his friend to honour him with a poem.¹⁴

The 'Dutch' authors in clm 528

The manuscript copied by Hartmann Schedel gives some interesting information on the intellectual relationships and printing practices of those days. Most of the transcribed poems were produced by Rudolph von Langen. He had contact with the members of the Adwert Academy and he visited Groningen. As a dean in Münster he made every effort to encourage humanist letters in Westphalia. Von Langen's collected poems, entitled *Carmina*, were published in 1486. Nearly all the poems by Von Langen in *clm 528* can also be found in the printed edition; the order of the poems, however, is quite different and some verses vary slightly. The two poems which were not printed are both panegyrics on Ulsenius.¹⁵

The Schedel codex has at least eight poems by Fredericus Moorman. Moorman, a Brother of the Common Life, had been born in Emden. He spent many years as a teacher in Münster. Von Langen's *epicedion* on Moorman's death in 1482 in Marburg was also included by Schedel in his manuscript. Today Moorman is remembered almost only because of his friendship with Agricola. In a letter to Adolph Occo Agricola called Moorman 'learned and refined, very capable of teaching children and excelling in the writing of lyric poems'. When Agricola returned to Groningen Moorman wrote a poetic welcome. Very little is known about the rest of Moorman's works. For this reason it is interesting that *clm 528* contains works by Moorman which affirm Agricola's judgment. One of the longer poems is addressed to his friend Anthonius Liber. In verses inspired by Ovid's exile poems (*Tristia* I,1 and especially *Epistulae ex Ponto* IV,5) and Virgil's *Aeneid* (the storm episode in book I), he describes the dangerous voyage of his poems to the 'caesarea urbs' Gronigen, with her

¹⁴ First version of Ulsenius' poem: Conrad Celtis, *Melopoiae sive harmoniae tetracentiae super XXII genera carminum*, fo. 10v; second version: Conrad Celtis, *Liber Odarum Quatuor cum Epodo et Saeculari Carmine*, fo. 3 and Celtis, *Der Briefwechsel*, 621-622; on this epigram by Ulsenius: Wuttke, 'Theodoricus Ulsenius als Quelle'; Ulsenius complaint: 'Tu videto, quid causae habeas, quod Ulsenium tuum nullo eulogio dignatus' in Celtis, *Der Briefwechsel*, 281; Celtis on Ulsenius: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek *clm 586*, fo. 180v.

¹⁵ Worstbroek, 'Langen, Rudolf von'; Parmet, *Rudolf von Langen*; The Poems on Ulsenius: *clm 528*, fo. 206v.

high walls who is the proud mother of Frisia'. They have to exhort Liber to go on with his literary work and to ask why he kept silent for such a long time. Moorman afterwards wishes him and his family good health, praises his 'Pavian knowledge' and urges Liber to answer with some poems.¹⁶

This Anthonius Liber or Vrije was born in the Westphalian town Soest. From his own letters also we know that he studied in Pavia, perhaps together with Agricola, and Agricola's biographer Goswinus van Halen tells us that he studied at the expense of the Adwert abbey. In 1469 Liber was appointed a schoolteacher and verger of St. Martin's Church at Groningen. Some years later in Cologne he edited the first epistolary anthology in Germany, the *Familiarium epistolarum compendium*. This collection includes letters by Agricola, Rudolph von Langen and Liber himself. Anthonius Liber made only one small contribution to *clm 528*: Schedel copied his poem *In osores studiorum humanitatis*. After his stay in Groningen, Liber lived successively in Cologne, Kampen, Amsterdam and Alkmaar. With regard to Ulsenius and the creation of *clm 528*, the years Liber spent in Kampen are very important. The Municipal Archives of Kampen possess charters signed by *Antonius Vrije notarius*. In 1485 he was also appointed *secretarius* of this town. So when Ulsenius became town physician of Kampen in 1487, Liber was town clerk and they certainly knew each other. In later years Alardus of Amsterdam bought writings by Agricola from Liber's daughter Barbara; probably Liber had already writings of Agricola and maybe of other humanists, while living in Kampen. So it would have been easy for Ulsenius to copy on an evening off, Agricola's *Judocus*-poem and Moorman's poetic work.¹⁷

The last Dutch contributor to *clm 528* is Bartholomeus Coloniensis. As he lived from about 1466 to 1514 or 1516, he was of the same age as Ulsenius. All the humanists mentioned above, including Agricola, were

¹⁶ On Agricola and Moorman: Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 124-128; Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 138-140; Hartsfelder, 'Unedierte Briefe', p. 21, n. 9; Akkerman, Santing, 'Rudolf Agricola en de Aduarder academie', n. 60; Worstbroek, Moorman(n), Friedrich. *Clm 528* contains sixteen poems by northern humanists which have never been printed. Dr. F. Akkerman and I are preparing an edition. A specimen which fits into the context of this book, a laudatory poem on Agricola by Moorman, is printed here as an appendix to my paper.

¹⁷ Worstbroek, 'Liber (Vrie, Vrye), Antonius'; the Municipal Archives of Kampen possess six charters and a document of 1482, 1485, 1487(2), 1490, 1492, 1499, drafted by an *Anthonius Vrije notarius*. From Easter 1485 *Anthonius Vrije van bij Soest geboren* was employed as *secretarius* of Kampen. This appointment was prolonged in 1488 for four years: Oud-Archief Kampen, inventarisnummer 11, fo. 156; Agricola visited Kampen in 1482 for 'business and diversion': letter to Barbireau in Agricola, *Lucubrationes* (Alardus II), 205 (*Ep.* 29); Alardus and Barbara Liber, *Lucubrationes* (Alardus II), 171; *In Osores, clm 528*, fo. 200v.

somewhat older. Schedel copied eight poems by Coloniensis. These can all be found in his volume of verse *Silva carminum*, which was published by Jacobus de Breda at Deventer in 1491.¹⁸ But two printed panegyrics on Ulsenius are not in *clm* 528. Style and content of the poetic work of both these men, especially the abundance of mythological references, the rather bizarre fantasy and the making of as many difficulties as possible, show a literary and spiritual congeniality. From 1489 on Bartholomeus Coloniensis was a teacher at Alexander Hegius's Lebuinusschool and he stayed in Deventer until the beginning of the sixteenth century. Ulsenius practised as a medical doctor in Deventer around 1490 and the two humanists probably became friends. It is not certain if they met each other again. However, they did keep in touch: Coloniensis wrote an introductory poem for Ulsenius's hymn on St. Judocus.¹⁹

Conclusion

In many ways Ulsenius tried to link himself with Agricola; for this reason he cultivated a Frisian background. The addition *Frisius* to one's name became rather popular at the end of the fifteenth century. In the next century Frisian nationalism rose to a climax. The historian Suffridus Petrus, for example, mentions Ulsenius, together with Adolph Occo and Agricola in his anthology of Frisian writers *De scriptoribus Frisiae*. However, Suffridus Petrus's historical objectivity is not undisputed and he certainly was a propagandist of the 'Great-Frisian idea'. Nevertheless Ulsenius' use of the title *Frisius* seems to be a bit artificial; after all, he came from the Dutch province Overijssel.²⁰ I believe Ulsenius saw himself as one of the successors of Agricola. In the introduction to his *Speculator* – an adaptation of the famous medical *Quaestiones Salernitales* – he refers to a 'Phoebus risen out of the Frisian waves', and to himself as to one 'who is going to try to extend the furrows of the angelic Agricola, under whose guidance we have already washed clean pure reason's ancient path'.²¹

It seems that Ulsenius answered the expectations Rudolph von Langen once had of him. In the latter's panegyric in *clm* 528 Ulsenius is praised to the skies. His medical abilities are compared with those of

¹⁸ On Coloniensis and his *Silva Carminum*: IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries', 271-272; *Silva Carminum*: Koninklijke Bibliotheek 's-Gravenhage 171 g11.

¹⁹ *De Sancto Judoco Hymnus* (see n. 11), fo. 2v.

²⁰ Petrus, *De Scriptoribus*, 53-54; the 'expansion of Frisia': Waterbolk, 'Vormende krachten bij de oprichting van de Friese Hogeschool in Franeker', 52.

²¹ Lawn, 'Dietrich Ulsen', 158-159: 'Phrisiis elatus ab undis ... Phoebus', '(Qualicumque iugo) tentem diffundere sulcos / Angelici Agricole quo preceptore piatam / Lavimus ecce viam liquide rationis avitam.'

Aesculapius, Chiron and Hippocrates; but the point is in the last lines where Von Langen writes: 'Hesperidum docto satiasti nectare campos / Agricola, o nostros, alter, et ipse fove.'²²

I have tried to show how important Agricola was to Ulsenius and the other early Dutch humanists. Perhaps Professor Waterbolk's conclusion to his inaugural lecture *Een hond in het bad* ('A dog in the bath') is too strong. His last words 'when Agricola died, the time of Erasmus began, and only then did Agricola's time really begin' do not do justice to the Dutch contributors to *clm 528*. For immediately after Agricola's death the Dutch humanists started off a 'propaganda machine' and they threw themselves upon the commemoration of Agricola. Thus the ideas Erasmus expressed about Agricola – a Frisian, who dumbfounded the Italians and brought the *bonae litterae* North – had been advanced years before by an earlier generation of humanists. The activities of the *sodalitas* of the early Dutch humanists discussed above, seem to constitute an almost forgotten period in Dutch cultural history. These intellectuals were overshadowed by the giants Agricola and Erasmus and by the Reformation. Students of humanism have often been too impressed by these geniuses and this religious revolution to realise that between the death of Agricola and Erasmus's maturity there is an interval of more than twenty years.²³

²² *Clm 528*, 206v.

²³ Waterbolk, 'Een hond in het bad', esp. 44.

*Appendix (see note 16)*Frederik Moorman to Agricola:²⁴Carmen Frederici ad magistrum
Rodolphum studiis insistentem

Rustica sint quamuis mea carmina, mollior etas
Et tremulenta manus et uatum rario usus
Hec eadem excuset. Nec enim aspernare Camenas,
Rodolphe o, nostras! Parnasi pocula fontis
5 Si non potarim, si non mihi Delius undam
Fuderit irriguam, tamen hec sint munera prima
Grata tibi nostro calamo conflata manuque.
Nam te Pierides uatem fecere nouellum,
Artibus ingenuis fauit tibi diuus Apollo.
10 O te felicem, qui dulcia effugis arua
Et patrios fines studiis obnixus et omnis
Ingeny renouans uires. Te laudibus ingens
Fama canit, latis tua gloria perstrepit oris,
Tu patrie spes magna tue, te regia tellus
15 Edidit et uariis dudum suscepit alendum
Louanium studiis, ubi te pergrata poesis
Tempore detinuit longo, super ethera notum
Que tete efficiet toto et cantarier orbe.
Tanta tibi ingeny uirtus, ea copia fandi,
20 Ut (mihi crede) tuos pressabit laurea crines.
Singula quid referam? Si quid mea carmina possint,
Grandiloquos versus et mutua dona remitte
Ocius apponens raptim calamumque manumque;
Scriptula grata dato, nam non mihi uerba neganda.
25 Finem equidem faxo. Dij longos uiuere in annos
Dent tibi et ethereas posthac concendere sedes.
Exest foelicius.

14 tua 23 opponens

²⁴ *Clm 528, fo. 181v.*

R.J. SCHOECK

AGRICOLA AND ERASMUS: ERASMUS' INHERITANCE OF NORTHERN HUMANISM

The story of Erasmus' inheritance of Northern Humanism has yet to be told in full, but it is clear that Rudolph Agricola was the *fons et origo* for Erasmus. In this paper I propose to examine that part of Erasmus' heritage and to attempt to appraise his debt to Agricola.

In the 1480s Rudolph Agricola was esteemed as something of a prodigy by his countrymen, and on his visits home from his humanist studies in Pavia he personified the glamour and the lure of Quattrocento humanism. It is clear that there was an Agricola circle in Deventer, and prominent among those who met regularly at the abbey of Aduard were Wessel Gansfort, Alexander Hegius (see Appendix) and Antoon Vrije. A boy of about 14, Erasmus at the time of Agricola's visit could not have known all of this although he seems to have been conscious of the high esteem in which Agricola was held by his schoolmasters. There is the contemporary testimony of one who – I follow P.S. Allen here – 'was a friend of Erasmus and Dorp, and who had been present in the school at Deventer when Hegius read out with great emotion a letter containing the news of Agricola's death.'¹ It would appear that for the young Erasmus Agricola became the personification of the Dutch humanist who was privileged to go to Italy for humanist studies. For Agricola had studied with Battista Guarino, son of the famous Guarino da Verona, as well as with Ludovico Carbone and Titus Strozzi, and he had also represented Groningen at the court of Maximilian in Brussels, twice in 1480 and once in 1481. All of this was part of the fame of Agricola.²

Later legend would embroider on the 'passing sight' that Erasmus had of Agricola, and Melanchthon and others would represent Agricola prophesying a bright future for the young Dutch boy. It was, quite certainly, only a passing sight, and in such case one could scarcely speak of Agricola's 'personal encouragement' of the young Erasmus;³ but it

I am indebted to Dr. F. Akkerman for a number of valuable comments upon and corrections in this paper.

¹ Allen, 'The letters', 303.

² Van Leijenhorst, *Contemporaries of Erasmus* I, 15-17. In his unpublished IANLS paper (Wolfenbüttel 1985), C.J. Classen notes that Carbone was 'wiederum einen Cicero herausgeber'. For Agricola's visits to Brussels, see Agricola, *Epp.* 22 and 23.

³ Phillips in her otherwise excellent survey article on Erasmus in *Erasmus*, ed. Dorey, 3.

may well have been something even stronger than encouragement: it seems to have been an inspiration. Synthen and Hegius were both friends and in some sense disciples of Agricola and would have shared some of his humanist enthusiasms. This would explain Erasmus' later statement that Hegius was the intellectual son of Agricola, and he, through him, the grandson. Both Synthen and Hegius were heads of the school that Erasmus attended in Deventer. First there was Johannes Synthen, who had some degree of understanding classical antiquity in the new light.⁴ Second there was Alexander Hegius, a man older than Agricola, but willing to take Greek lessons from Agricola possibly during Agricola's visit with him in Emmerich, probably in the autumn of 1479.⁵ Both schoolmasters were active in the publication of school-texts, and their works were in the areas of grammar as well as the new humanism.⁶ At Deventer, we have been reminded by Koch, more books in the classics were published during the 1490s than at Paris during the same period.⁷

The context in which Erasmus had his view of Agricola was likely an assembly of all the students, for on festal days the rector gave his oration to all the pupils; it would seem probable that it was on such an occasion that Agricola addressed the schoolboys. For once, and apparently only once, the celebrated Agricola spoke to the entire school. But that occasion alone could not account for the many references to Agricola in later life; as we know, Erasmus continued to read Agricola, seems to have known some of his unpublished papers, and praised him very highly on all but one point.⁸

One instant of such praise is to be found in Erasmus' celebration of Agricola in the adage *Quid cani et balneo* (*Adag.* I, IV. XXXIX = no. 339). For in this recollection by Erasmus of Rudolph's assertion that putting a

⁴ Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum* (ed. Allen) I, 48, where it is noted that in conjunction with Hegius he wrote commentaries on the *Doctrinale* of Alexander, the first of which he had printed at Deventer (Pafraet 1488). There were as well other works of grammar: among these were a *Composita verborum* (1485), *Verba deponentia* (1499) and *Aequivoca* (1486). In this Deventer school at the time Erasmus was a student, then, there was considerable scholarly activity – not in humanism so much as in pedagogical work based on medieval grammar and logic.

⁵ On Agricola's study of Greek, see Agricola, *Epp.* 6 (1475); 13 (1476); see also Worstbroek, 'Hegius' and Professor IJsewijn in this volume.

⁶ See Note 4, above.

⁷ Koch in *Post-Incunabula and their Publishers*, 122.

⁸ The one exception is *Spongia* (LB x, 1666A), where he remarks that he owed nothing to Agricola; this is a passing remark, and the context does not support any larger application. But the force of *minimum debebam* permits more than one reading, and Professor Waterbolk has argued convincingly that Erasmus did not want to say that he was not grateful to these men for what he had learned from them: Waterbolk, *Een hond in het bad* (see *Verspreide Opstellen*, 29-34).

theologian to teaching children was 'as out of place as a dog in a bath' we find the core of much of Erasmus' later views about the need to keep theologians to the teaching of theology, that literary education was more than merely a preparation for scholastic theology, and that Latin should be learned for a larger purpose than equipping a student for the dialectics of the schools.⁹ In a letter of 1523 Erasmus called Rudolph Agricola the first to bring the breath of good letters from Italy.^{9a}

Erasmus praised Agricola in a number of letters (*Epp.* 23, 480, 1237, 2073) and in the *Ciceronianus*,¹⁰ and he cited Agricola in that earliest of works, the *De Contemptu Mundi*.¹¹ Further, as Van Leijenhorst has conveniently summarized in the essay on Agricola in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, Erasmus 'purchased a number of his (Agricola's) works, keeping several of these in his library until he died'.¹² Finally, Erasmus used Agricola's profuse annotations in his personal copy of the edition of Seneca which had been printed by Bernard of Cologne at Treviso in 1478, an annotated copy which included many corrections of the text. Through a young Frisian named Haio Hermann – a kinsman of Agricola married a daughter of the Frisian merchant Pompeius Occo, who had a neglected collection of Agricola's papers in Amsterdam – Erasmus received a loan of Agricola's *Seneca*, which Erasmus returned with due acknowledgements both to Agricola and to his young kinsman in the preface.¹³ In that preface Erasmus wrote of Agricola: 'It was incredible how many good guesses were made by that remarkable man, *quam multa divinarit vir ille plane divinus*'.¹⁴ At least twice, we know Erasmus used Agricola's translations from the Greek, but he denied using Agricola in translating Euripides.¹⁵

The biographical and bibliographical evidence is overwhelming: Erasmus knew the writings of Agricola early in life, and he continued to admire and make use of Agricola until his old age.

But what is even more important is Erasmus' indebtedness to Agricola for concepts and values in humanism and theology, and I shall try to analyze certain key concepts. The term *Northern Humanism* is too large and

⁹ See Note 3.

^{9a} Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum* (ed. Allen) I, 2.

¹⁰ *Ciceronianus*, ASD 1-2, 682-3.

¹¹ *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V-1, 56.

¹² Van Leijenhorst, *Contemporaries of Erasmus* I, 16: *Epp.* nos. 174, 184, 311.

¹³ Allen, 'The letters', 307-8.

¹⁴ Phillips, 'Erasmus and the classics', 16.

¹⁵ Van Leijenhorst, *Contemporaries of Erasmus* I, 16. On the charge that Erasmus published Agricola's translations as his own, see Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum* (ed. Allen) I, 365 Note.

vague to be very useful here for analysis,¹⁶ and I propose to begin with a summary of the central concern of the Brethren of the Common Life, to take up the role of rhetoric in both Agricola and Erasmus, and then to move briefly to the concept of *philosophia Christi*.

We cannot follow Albert Hyma in attributing the genius of the Northern Renaissance nearly totally to the work of the Brethren of the Common Life, important – indeed, vital – though that work was. But we must accept the work of the *Devotio Moderna* as one of the essential elements of – theirs may well have been the major contribution to – the development and spread of humanism along the Rhine and down into Hessa and Wurtemberg, as well as throughout a large part of the Netherlands. Their work in establishing schools, hospices for poor students in university towns and cities, and printing presses, cannot be minimized, and through some of its students – Cusanus, Agricola, Celtis, Mutianus, Wessel Gansfort, Erasmus, and Luther – that influence of the Brethren widened still further.¹⁷ What one does not find among these products of the schools of the Brethren is the new Platonism of the Florentine Academy, even though the personal influence of Ficino among northern scholars was great.¹⁸ There is in fact little interest in the occult and in astral influence among Agricola, Erasmus and their circles; nor is there an appreciable following of Ficino's development of the Platonic concept of love (as in Ficino's Commentary on the *Symposium*). *In fine*, neither Rudolph Agricola nor Erasmus is much touched by Florentine Platonism, and it is to be noted that Hegius wrote against the Platonists (see Appendix). And among German humanists, as Spitz has observed, 'no German humanist so seriously cultivated the theme of the natural and essential goodness, wisdom, and dignity of man as did Pico in his

¹⁶ The introduction by Spitz to *The Religious Renaissance*, 1-19, will serve to indicate the many problems inherent in the term. The recent work by Dickens and Tonkin, *The Reformation in Historical Thought* does not appear to discuss either the term *Northern Humanism* or the work of Hyma.

¹⁷ Post, *The Modern Devotion*. I agree with Spitz's summary statement that Hyma was one of the revisionists 'who held to the autochthonous nature of Northern humanism and its continuous development out of the medieval past', attributing 'the Northern Renaissance fundamentally to the work of the Brethren of the Common Life'; see Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance*, commenting on Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance*.

¹⁸ On the influence of Ficino north of the Alps: Kristeller, 'The European Diffusion of Italian Humanism', and his chapter on Ficino in *Eight Philosophers* (also the works by Festugière and Moench which he cites on p. 172). See also the following: Della Torre, *Storia dell'Accademia Platonica di Firenze*; Robb, *Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance*; Jayne, *John Colet and Marsilio Ficino*. Ficino's first letters were published in 1495 and his correspondents include – to name one Northern humanist – Reuchlin, but not, apparently, Rudolf Agricola, and not Erasmus.

Oration or various theses.¹⁹ What Erasmus did have in common with Agricola was a high regard for rhetoric and a fondness for the humanistic forms of dialogue and epistle.

For Agricola, language was the indispensable medium of the *studia humanitatis*, and not surprisingly Cicero was the expression of ideal wisdom.²⁰ Behind Agricola we find such less well-known figures as Peter Luder – who had studied, Classen reminds us, with the older Guarino, and who taught at Heidelberg and Erfurt – and Albrecht von Eyb, author in 1459 of the widely read *Margarita poetica*. Luder, Von Eyb, and others like Publicius (Rufus), were all involved in what might be called the Ciceronian revival of the fifteenth century: the study of Cicero's orations and the theoretical discussions of the role of rhetoric – even, the reaches of rhetoric as a path to wisdom.²¹ By virtue of Agricola's work and example, and through the mediating teaching of Synthen and Hegius, Erasmus was enabled to respond (while in the monastery of Steyn in the 1480s) directly to Valla's *Elegantiae* and to make it at once a part of his personal program of studies: first Valla, then Poliziano and that later generation of Italian humanist philologists. After 1500 there was everywhere a flood of new energy in a range of writings on rhetoric, which included commentaries on the *De oratore* of Cicero, especially, as Classen has recently noted in studying the context and the achievement of rhetorical scholarship north of the Alps in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (emphasizing Luder, Von Eyb, and Agricola).²²

Erasmus' great and enduring interest in Cicero, and his emphasis on the rhetorical tradition, must be seen in the light of his inheritance of the Agricolan devotion to rhetoric, which was itself part of a larger pattern of rhetorical studies and publications in the Low Countries and Germany. (One notes that a number of Erasmus' rhetorical works were during the sixteenth century printed or bound with copies of Agricola's *De reformando studio*, *De usu locorum communium*, and his first Pavian oration.)²³ Closer comparative studies of the rhetorical writings and orations of Agricola with parallel works of Erasmus would, I urge, be most rewarding.

¹⁹ Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance*, 16.

²⁰ This interpretation of the force of language in the *studia humanitatis* was first vigorously presented by Grassi, *Verteidigung des individuellen Lebens*, and the role of rhetoric has been even more vigorously argued in his *Rhetoric as Philosophy*.

²¹ Classen, unpublished paper given at the IANLS Congress (Wolfenbüttel 1985). I am grateful to Professor Classen for being able to read this address.

²² Classen at the IANLS Congress (Wolfenbüttel 1985).

²³ Van Leijenhorst has noted Erasmus' publication of Agricola's first Pavia oration with the *De pronuntiatione* and the *Ciceronianus* (1528), see in *Contemporaries of Erasmus* I, 16.

Another point is that Agricola provides a valuable and much needed linkage with traditions of medieval rhetoric, as in his borrowing 'his mode of classifying the material to be deployed in eloquent discourse from medieval arts of preaching' (as Terence Cave has observed in his valuable work *The Cornucopian Text*).

The larger question of Erasmus' indebtedness to Agricola for theological concepts demands much fuller treatment than is possible on this occasion. Agricola's *De formando studio* (1484) is significant in this context for its employment of the formula *philosophia Christi*, echoed so often and so richly by Erasmus, as an all-embracing title for a system of thought and values which mediated between classical wisdom and Christian faith: there was for Agricola little tension between the two.

Agricola seems to have been largely dependent upon the basic line of thought of such Italian humanists as Leonardo Bruni in his *De studiis et litteris*, both for the genre of treatise on the nature and direction of studies and for the concept of service for the humanist. Yet Agricola, while he served briefly as *scriba et orator* for Groningen, does not appear to have developed quite so fully the concept of civic humanism (in the terms of Hans Baron);²⁴ for, although he was less than completely content with his position at Groningen – and it must be asked whether it was so much the location as it was the position of town secretary – he waited to move until in 1482 he had received the offer from his old friend and fellow-student at Pavia, Johann von Dalberg, now bishop of Worms, to come to Heidelberg. He arrived there in 1484 to lecture, participate in disputations, and write. *De formando studio* is a product of that brief period at Heidelberg, and it is in the form of a letter to a friend, Jacobus Barbirianus, defending humanist studies.

Like Erasmus a product of the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life – Agricola in Groningen,²⁵ Erasmus in Deventer and 's Hertogenbosch – Agricola expressed a view of man and a concept of learning which had deep roots in the piety and non-speculative non-scholastic thought and spirituality of the Brethren, among whom Seneca was a favourite author, as he had been for the author of their foundational text, *The Following of Christ*. From that part of his heritage Agricola developed a stoical-moralistic emphasis, as did Erasmus. And finally, the two shared a reasonably critical attitude towards Aristotle, one of respect without veneration and this was balanced by their shared non-Platonism.

²⁴ Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* and *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni*.

²⁵ While there is a tradition that Agricola was a student of the Brethren, there is no record of his having lodged with them at Groningen (where they were then explicitly not allowed to teach).

We can now see how much of the *philosophia Christi* of Erasmus – whether it was modelled directly upon the teaching of Agricola or came, at least in part, through such intermediaries as Hegius – was in fact probably both inspired and guided by Agricola's unique fusion of the teaching of the *Devotio Moderna* with that of his pious Italian masters.²⁶ For there was in both a basically non-speculative interest in philosophy and theology, an emphasis upon the practical with a strongly moralistic (and, to a considerable degree, Stoic) emphasis on the essential business of living in this world. The *philosophia Christi* was simple, but not easy; it was moralistic, but not puritanical; and it valued the role of classical learning and especially rhetoric, as embodied in Cicero, in teaching wisdom.

Yet there was also in both men a commitment to the study of the Christian Scriptures and a deep and abiding love of Christ and complete acceptance of the fact, of the actuality, of Christianity, however much one might criticize the abuses of the clergy; in both there was an essential commitment in matters of faith and to a life of study. The weight of the parallels and correspondences is very great, and the differences between them – such as the pure ultramontanism of Agricola, which Erasmus never shared – remarkably few. The lasting influence of Rudolph Agricola upon Erasmus cannot be doubted, and it is reflected in Erasmus' great loyalty to Agricola.

Appendix: Alexander Hegius

From about 1481 the schoolrector at Deventer was Alexander Hegius (c. 1439/40-1498, see F.J. Worstbroek, reference in footnote 5 above), who resided in the house of Richard Pafraet, the first printer of Deventer, which was then becoming one of the major centers of printing in Europe. It was largely through the work of Pafraet that, as Koch has reminded us, 'more classical texts ... came from the presses of Deventer than from Paris' in the last decade of the fifteenth century.²⁷

Hegius was some five years older than Agricola, and it is a mistake therefore to speak of him simply as a student of Agricola's. But it is accurate to say that Agricola instructed Hegius in Greek, and that this probably took place in 1479 on Agricola's return from Ferrara to

²⁶ In her excellent paper on 'La "Philosophia Christi"', Phillips has extended the discussion of *philosophia Christi* into the learned yet popular immensely influential *Adages*, with which Erasmus was deeply concerned throughout his life after 1500.

²⁷ See Note 7 above.

Groningen. What is remarkable, nonetheless, is that Hegius was forty years old when he received that instruction in Greek from the younger Agricola. 'When a man of forty I came to young Agricola, Hegius confessed, and from him I have learned all that I know, or rather all that others think I know.'²⁸ He wept when he announced Agricola's death to his students, and it is to be noted that the first publication of any new writing by Agricola after his death was in 1503, by Jacob Faber of Deventer, who added two letters (the one from Hegius and the other Agricola's reply) to his editions of Hegius' works.²⁹

For Hegius, as Spitz remarked, 'metaphysics was still the *praestantissima omnium scientiarum* high above grammar and rhetoric, and alone deserving the name of wisdom; and in his work directed against skepticism, the *De Scientia et de eo quod scitur*, he argued that Aristotle was basic to a knowledge of the *res naturales* and to metaphysics as well and expressly polemicized against Plato and Platonists'³⁰ – but a humanist might be an Aristotelian as well as a Platonist. When we turn to Hegius' *Farrago* (1496), we find intimations of humanism, e.g. his dialogue on rhetoric, and his striking 'Against Those Who Believe that the Knowledge of Modes of Significance is Necessary to Grammar' – but we also find him writing on John of Garland and dialectic. The quality of his Latin is far from sophisticated, and his own *Carmina* are undistinguished.³¹

²⁸ See Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance*, 39.

²⁹ Agricola, *Epp.* 42 and 43; see Allen, 'The letters', 304.

³⁰ Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance*, 132.

³¹ I have here commented on Hegius as a link between Agricola and Erasmus; Hegius is vital in this respect, but there were others; and I shall discuss the question more fully in my future biography of Erasmus.

P. SCHOONBEEG

AGRICOLA ALTER MARO

'Agricola alter Maro' expresses the opinion of Erasmus. In this paper I demonstrate that Agricola was no Virgilian poet. However, this does not imply that Erasmus was incapable of accurately judging poetical quality. Erasmus chose the highest praise available to voice adequately his admiration; but he did not intend to compare Agricola to Virgil. By this time *alter Maro* had already become a commonplace term of praise. As a description of Agricola's poetic qualities it will be used until the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

A survey of Agricola's poetry should begin with the introduction of a subdivision. In Agricola's case this division is somewhat theoretical, but in itself it is not unimportant: a distinction must be made between his Latin poetry and his poems in the vernacular. In his *Life of Agricola* Johann von Pleningen tells us that Agricola not only wrote prose and poetry in his own language but also in German, Italian and French.¹ This faculty in languages is more or less explicitly mentioned by all his other biographers. Geldenhouwer, for example, tells us that Agricola 'in harum (scil. puellarum) gratiam, patria lingua, amatoria quaedam carmina scripsit elegantissime, quae puellis praesentibus, primariisque amicis, voce et testudine modulatissime canebat'.² In 1588 Cornelius Kempius draws attention to some of Agricola's songs which apparently were still very popular in Groningen in his days: 'Circumferuntur multa a dicto Agricola composita cantica, patrio sermone ad nos reservata, quae passim apud multos in Civitate Groningana in magno precio habentur, et quatuor vocum modulamine cantillantur'.³ The only one, however, who actually quotes some of the words of these poems is Goswinus van Halen. Referring to an acrostic which Agricola allegedly wrote for his girlfriend, Goswinus mentions its first three words, *Als ic ghedenck* (i.e. When I think of ...).⁴ This is all we have of Agricola's vernacular poetry.

Fortunately much more is left of his Latin poems. Most have been printed in the second volume of the Alardus edition. In addition to the poetry in Alardus, the Agricola codex in Stuttgart contains a Sapphic ode

¹ Pfeifer, 'Rudolf Agricola', 114.

² Fichardus, *Virorum qui superiori nostroque seculo ... memorabiles fuerunt Vitae*, fol. 85r.

³ Kempius, *De origine, situ, qualitate et quantitate Phrisiae*, 154.

⁴ Kan, 'Wesseli Groningensis, Rodolphi Agricolae ... Vitae', 9.

on St. Catherine of Alexandria and another Stuttgart manuscript contains two poems, one of which is for St. Martin's Eve; in the other, perhaps a fragment of a longer poem, Agricola expresses the wish to live in Italy rather than in Phrisia.⁵ Recently two epigrams came to light in a manuscript of the University Library of Utrecht. According to an annotation in the margin they can be ascribed to Agricola.⁶

The Latin poetry of Agricola can be divided into three generic groups: occasional poetry, religious poems and epigrams; amatory poems are conspicuously absent.

The epigrams form a minor group, running to not more than seventy lines, even when we include the epitaphs, which will be dealt with later on. In the Alardus edition there are four epigrams in a more limited sense, three consisting of one elegiac distich each and one consisting of

⁵ The ode on St. Catherine in *Cod. Poet. et Philol.* 4° 36, fol. 220r-220Ar; the two other poems in *Cod. Poet. et Philol.* 4° 21, fol. 55v. Cf. Waterbolk, 'Deux poèmes inconnus de Rodolphe Agricola?', 37 ff.

⁶ The poems are not unlike the epitaphs Agricola wrote for the bastard of the duke of Brabant (Alardus II, pp. 320-321). Both are concerned with the death of a certain Iohannes Hornse. The source is Utrecht University Library, *ms 232*, fol. 2r. See for a photograph of this page *Expos. Cat. UBG* 1985, p. 96. A third epigram on this same page is known from Alardus II, p. 306 and other sources: 'Postera quid portet ...' Since the marginal annotation, which reads 'M. Rodolphus Agricola de Selwert fecit', is on the height of the third poem, the attribution of the first two to Agricola is far from certain. Nevertheless I publish them here, for the kind permission of which I thank most cordially Drs. K. van der Horst, Department of manuscripts of the University Library of Utrecht. The punctuation and capitals are mine. The words in italics are unclear readings. Next to line 5 of the first poem is another annotation in the margin, reading: 'anno 83 ex libris ...'; the last word or numeral I was not able to decipher. A scribe Johannes Hornsen Monasteriensis is mentioned by J. IJsewijn in 'The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries', 213, n. 27 (see also the publication by José Ruyschaert to which IJsewijn refers). He may well be the same person. Our poems suggest that he was an important advisor of the Pope or a bishop.

Si queat eloquium, si mens illustris et artes
uisque uigens animi claudere mortis iter,
uiuus adhuc esset, premerent nec busta Iohannem
Hornse, iam modicus qui iacet ecce cinis.
Nouerat urbs animi uim, uix iam nouerat orbis;
consilium fuit hic pontificisque fides.
Pastor at hic posuit commisso pro grege uitam.
Tu quoque pro tanto, plebs, duce funde preces.

Si queat eloquium, si mens illustris et artes
uisque uigens animi claudere mortis iter,
non lues *Gaulgum* rapuisset sparsa Iohannem
Hornse, quem tantum tam breuis urget humus.
Nouerat urbs animi uim, uix iam nouerat orbis
certaque pontificis mensque *capuique* fuit.
Fidus at hoc animam quia fudit pro grege pastor,
tu quoque pro caro, plebs, duce funde preces.

two distichs (Alardus II, p. 306). In his biography, Goswinus van Halen says: 'Scripsit praeterea multa epigrammata, quorum adhuc aliqua habentur, pleraque autem perierunt.' Of the four that we still have, two are concerned with pictures: one is a distich describing a portrait of Cicero depicted at the beginning of a volume of his *Orationes*; the other, also one distich, describes the portrait of a couple of lovers. The remaining two epigrams are perhaps more widely known; very succinctly and in a truly Latin mode of expression they give stoic rules for peace of mind and enjoyment of life.

Of the two principal groups in Agricola's poetry – the occasional poems and the religious poetry – I will discuss the former category first, in the sequence in which the poems appear in the Alardus edition.

The opening poem (Alardus II, pp. 291-293) consists of 63 hendecasyllabics addressed to Jodocus Besselius, whose acquaintance Agricola had made at the ducal court in Brussels. After celebrating Besselius' literary and other merits, Agricola assures him of his everlasting friendship. Metre and vocabulary of the poem are impeccable; Besselius' opinion of this piece of versification – he would not even exchange it for an epigram by Martial – seems, however, exaggerated.⁷

The dullness of this poem, due perhaps to the more or less compulsory character of such professions of friendship and admiration, is relieved by the next piece. This poem is also written in hendecasyllabics (Alardus II, pp. 293-294) and consists of 56 lines to a Cribellius of Milan. The poet asks one of the Muses to go to this city (I quote from the Alardus text):

Arces Insubrium petens potentum,
Pergas Musa precor gradu citato.
Neu cancri metuas furentis aestum,
Cursum saepe mero leues licebit.
Nec tu turpe mero putes olere.
Nam non insolitum madere Musis,
Germano quoque mitteris madenti.

Having arrived there, she must ask Cribellius to fulfil his promise of lending Agricola his copy of Pliny:

Scit quid ueneris, ultro et ipse dicet.
Namque est pollicitus mihi libellum,
Qui mihi charior omnibus libellis
Est, et charior Indicis lapillis
Quid ni? et charior est utrisque ocellis.

⁷ See *Ep.* 23 (letter by Agricola to his brother Johannes). This Besselius, by the way, borrowed entire verses of Agricola's St. Anne poem for his own 'Rosary of St. Anne', cf. Trithemius, *De laudibus sanctissimae matris Annae*, fol. e 1v.

Librum, quo pariter duobus aeuum,
 Et longum dedit absque fine nomen
 Traiano, atque sibi meus Secundus,
 Atque a morte simul tuetur ambo.

The poem makes a far more lively impression than the first one and it is written in a Catullian manner, containing in fact some obvious reminiscences.

Next (Alardus II, pp. 294-296) comes a beautiful ode of 16 Alcaic stanzas for Agricola's old friend and fellow-champion of the humanist movement, Rudolph von Langen. The twelfth strophe follows here:

Est uera nostri gloria seculi,
 Rodolphe gentis Teutonicae decus,
 Docta ualens lingua, ualensque
 Mente bona pariterque docta.

Its contents bear a strong resemblance to the famous ninth ode of Horace's first book, 'Vides ut alta stet nive candidum / Soracte', cf. for example the beginning of the poem:

Formosa rerum iam facies perit,
 Nudasque sternunt arboreae comae
 Terras, et os late sonantum
 Conticuit uolucrum per agros,

and its last stanza but one:

Huc huc fac assis, cordaque tristibus,
 Exolue curis, risibus et iocis,
 Curui senis sydus retundens,
 Vince focus hyemem meroque.

This likeness, however, is not effected by such crude means as direct quotations. By choosing his words, images and transitions from one topic to another very carefully and by touching on themes that appear now and again in Horace's poems, Agricola succeeds in creating an atmosphere that is very Horatian in spirit and form.

In the next occasional poem (Alardus II, pp. 306-309, 90 lines in elegiac distichs) Agricola commemorates the fact that he has seen again an old friend, Caspar, abbot of Mons Sancti Georgii, after a long separation. He expresses his joy in a mixture of poetical commonplaces and more original phrases. Though the former seem more numerous than the latter, the poem somehow convinces us of Agricola's sincerity and of the intensity of his joy. The last couplet reads:

Sis memor ergo mei: nunquam tu pectore nostro,
 Non dum uiuus ero: non quoque morte cades.

Less agreeable and not at all convincing is his *Laus Papiae* (Alardus II, pp. 309-310), a panegyric in 17 hexameters, dedicated to the city in which he enjoyed his first triumphs as a humanist. After a somewhat pompous opening in stereotyped phrases:

Vrbs Ticini decus o magnum et mirabile rerum
 Cuius par coelo et terrae quoque gloria par est:
 Salve, clara uiris et magnis turribus ingens
 Quis digno meritas dicet tibi carmine laudes?

and after another eight verses in the same manner, he dismisses his subject rather abruptly saying that he has not got the time to give Pavia and all its famous sons their full due. Future centuries, however, will take care of that. He concludes the poem with the wish that the Virgin and the Saints may take the city into their protection.

Slightly more attractive are the eight elegiac distichs written to accompany some fruit which he sent to Lucas Crassus, a famous lawyer (Alardus II, p. 310). In polite and elegant phrases Agricola apologizes for the insignificance of his gift:

Sed mala hyems nocuit, pueri nocuere rapaces,

and promises Crassus something better if the next season turns out to be more favourable.

Preceding the longest of Agricola's occasional poems in the Alardus edition is a short piece in six elegiac distichs to his friend and patron Johann von Dalberg, written, apparently, in connection with a picture of the Ascension (Alardus II, pp. 313-314).

After this comes the *epicedium* on Agricola's friend, Moritz, count of Spiegelberg (Alardus II, pp. 314-319, 190 verses in elegiac distichs). According to Ellinger's *Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur* (referring to an *epicedium* by Ferreto di Vicenza) this kind of poetry had already become one of the 'stehende Formen der gelehrten Dichtung'.⁸ Agricola's poem displays all the paraphernalia of classical mythology with phraseology to match. Notwithstanding the presence of these standard themes and formulas, the poem as a whole is convincing: Agricola's grief is real, deeply felt and beautifully phrased. After an impressive beginning:

Phebe ueni nigra crines umbrante cupresso,
 Neue manu citharam, sertaue fronte geras.
 Et tibi dulcisono crepitu sint carmina, longe
 Proferat ex habitu se, facieque dolor.

come the usual remarks about Death taking no account of virtue, fame

⁸ Ellinger, *Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur Deutschlands* I, p. 10.

and nobility in choosing its victims. The poet proceeds to urge the Muses to pay homage to the deceased. But then, suddenly, one of the Muses appears and makes him see the matter in quite a different light: it was not *Death* that took Moritz away, but *he himself*, full of days, left this world to exchange it for a better condition. Moritz von Spiegelberg is no longer physically present in this world, but he will live on in his works. All human things are inevitably subject to destruction, but since God is present in the minds of the poets, neither the poets nor their works are susceptible to death, or, to quote Agricola,

Mentibus at Vatum Deus insidet, ut caret ille
Morte, caret Vatum sic quoque morte labor.

Therefore one should not ask that Moritz von Spiegelberg be returned to earth. In asking this – the Muse is still speaking to the poet – one harms him more than even his worst enemy would like to do. Agricola should instead rejoice in the present good fortune of his friend and remember him always.

The *epicedium* is followed by an epitaph, in four elegiac distichs, which commemorates Von Spiegelberg's noble rank, his ecclesiastical dignities and his intellectual merits (Alardus II, p. 319).

Of the remaining occasional poems, all in elegiac distichs, five are epitaphs for a bastard of the duke of Brabant, one is an epitaph for Petrus Heimannus; a moving epitaph is also dedicated to Margareta and Lodovica Hampuans, who both died before they even reached the third month of their lives. Their father was apparently a councillor or at any rate a court-official of the duke of Burgundy and perhaps a friend of Agricola's:

Margareta iacet simul et Lodouica, tenellas
Quas rapis ah nimium mors properante manu.

Nondum ter uacuae uiderunt cornua Lunae,
Parca ferox summum clausit utrique diem.
Vita nequiuit eas, iunxit mors, utque fuerunt
Vnus amor patris, unica claudit huius.

Although these epitaphs all deal with the same subject, the familiar themes of the untimeliness of death and its indifference with regard to rank, merits and age of its victims, Agricola succeeds in giving all these poems a certain personal colour (Alardus II, pp. 319-321).

As is the case with many fifteenth-century Neo-Latin poets from Northern Europe, Agricola's religious poems form a substantial part of his poetical work. In fact they almost equal the occasional poems in number of lines.

The longest of these poems is a votive-hymn in honour of St. Anne, the mother of the Blessed Virgin (Alardus II, pp. 297-306). It consists of 310 lines in elegiac distichs.

The cult of St. Anne, which had been slowly but steadily developing ever since the Crusaders brought it back from the East, began to spread more rapidly as a consequence of the rise of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The holiness of St. Anne, if not exactly a prerequisite, is at least a fortunate accessory to this doctrine. The cult of St. Anne reached the height of its fashion at about the turn of the fifteenth century. Consequently the period abounds in poems on St. Anne, and in painting the representation of this Saint accompanied by the Virgin and Christ as a child are innumerable ('St. Anna-te-drieën').

Agricola had written poetry before but had never troubled to have it printed. In this phase of his life, however, he felt compelled, while everybody who counted in humanist circles was having his poetry published, to give proof of his own abilities in this field; to this end he chose, not unnaturally, a fashionable subject. Whether his despondent statements on this poem in a letter to Anton Liber on 7 April 1484 are an expression of the usual feigned modesty or whether they were seriously meant, it is not so easy to say; but, anyway, all this trouble to join in the fashion of the day resulted in a lengthy poem on St. Anne.⁹

Now any poet, setting out to write a poem on this Saint, must be seriously hampered by the fact that virtually nothing was known about her; she is not even mentioned in the Gospels. This deficiency was met by the *Evangelia apocrypha*, which were later summarized in the *Legenda Aurea* by (presumably) Jacobus de Voragine.¹⁰ But the fact remains that ultimately St. Anne's fame was based solely on the fame of her daughter and grandchild, since a selfrespecting humanist poet could naturally have no recourse to medieval tales about obscure miracles. The usefulness of invocations addressed to St. Anne rested on her relationship with the Virgin and Christ:

Nil tibi nata negat, nil et negat ille parenti.

So Agricola restricts himself to this theme and sings the praise of St. Anne's fame as derived first and foremost from the Holy Virgin and secondly, to a far lower degree, from Christ, as exemplified by the opening verses:

⁹ See *Ep.* 37 (letter by Agricola to Anthonius Liber).

¹⁰ Apocryphal Gospels, especially the *Protevangelium Jacobi*, the *Liber de ortu beatae Mariae et infantia Salvatoris* (= *Evangelium pseudo-Matthaei*), the *Liber de nativitate Mariae*; texts in Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, cap. CXXXI.

Anna parens summae genitrix ueneranda parentis
 Quae pandis populis prima salutis iter
 Atque paris matrem: cuius quem non capit orbis
 Ipse libens subiit uiscera casta Deus.

After some 45 introductory verses in which the triad Anne, Mary, Christ, is glorified for the first time, the narrative part of the poem, the *paris epica* proper of the hymn, begins. This is dealt with very briefly. Roughly it is the story as the *Legenda Aurea* concocted it from the apocryphal gospels, reduced to its barest factual essentials. It speaks of the apparition of the archangel Gabriel, who predicts the miraculously late birth of a girl, Mary, to the elderly, barren couple, Anne and her husband Joachim. The 'facts' of the story once told, the largest part of the poem is spent in praising alternately Mary and St. Anne in a great variety of phraseology but essentially always to the same effect. This goes on for about a 150 verses, when at last the votive character of the poem appears: Agricola, when ill, had invoked St. Anne's intercession and promised her this poem in return on the answer to his prayers.

If this poem is to be searched at all for lyric passages, they are, in my opinion, to be found here, in this description of the poet's illness, of his prayer to St. Anne and his subsequent recovery. The poem ends with a skilful adaptation to elegiac distichs of the doxology that usually concludes hymns.

The poem is technically almost flawless; it is obviously written by a very competent Latinist, a well-read man of discernment and good taste, who had a well-balanced vocabulary of a very wide range at his command, in which neither typically Christian nor typically medieval terminology is in evidence. Contrary to the sometimes rather extraordinary performances in this field by contemporary poets such as Baptista Mantuanus, Alexander Hegius, Rudolph von Langen, Agricola does not try to paraphrase Christian notions in pagan terms. As to that, his vocabulary comes close to that of Prudentius. As a whole, however, the poem is hardly 'poetical'. After all, this is supposed to be a piece of religious lyric. Especially, but I dare say not exclusively, to the eyes of the modern reader the religious inspiration, if any, is obscured by the sheer, in its way masterly, verbosity of the poet.

As far as religious inspiration is concerned, the same holds good for the other religious poems, of which the next was written in honour of St. Judocus (Alardus II, pp. 310-313). This poem, consisting of a 110 hexameters, is another votive-hymn (a fact which only appears near the end, actually in the last seven lines of the poem).

Traces of a cult of this Saint can be found in France in the eighth century (Judocus was supposed to be the son of a seventh-century king of

Brittany) and in Germany (Trier) in the ninth century. His intercession was asked for against various diseases of man and crops, especially against the plague. According to the Von Pleningen-*Vita Agricola* invoked the Saint during a period of illness in Ferrara.

In a good 100 verses the life of the Saint is related and an enumeration is given of the special fields in which prayers addressed to him might prove effective. Then the poet addresses the Saint in a short apostrophe; he tells us that he owes to Judocus his recovery from an illness, and concludes with a short prayer, in which he asks the Saint to accept this poem as a humble sign of his gratitude.

The following religious poem is a Sapphic ode to St. Catherine of Alexandria. This ode was never printed, except in part in Van der Velden's *Rodolphus Agricola*.¹¹ The material for this ode, as well as that for the preceding religious poems, comes from the *Legenda Aurea*. The popularity of St. Catherine was somewhat declining in the fifteenth century. Agricola's choice, however, may have been prompted by the fact that St. Catherine was the patron-saint of the monastery where his father was abbot.

In 17 stanzas *Agricola* relates the vicissitudes of this Saint's short life: St. Catherine refused to sacrifice to the pagan gods when the Roman emperor asked her to do so. Consequently she was tortured in various ways and finally died. The poem ends with an exhortation to all age-categories to pray to this Saint and with a short prayer that is directly addressed to the Saint herself.

Hanc colant ergo pueri et puellae
Et uiri, matres, iuuenes senesue.
“Sancta”, sic dicant, “Catharina”, cuncti,
“Suscipte uota

Et roga Christum, misero ut precanti
Parcat, aduersis releuetque lapsum,
Spiritus carne ut ualeat relicta ad
Astra uenire. Amen.”

This only instance of Agricola's use of the Sapphic stanza is metrically faultless. The metrical scheme conforms to that of Horace.¹²

The last of the religious poems is a hymn to all Saints, perhaps written as a reaction to the new status this feast acquired in the ecclesiastical

¹¹ Cf. Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 217-218. For the full text see note 5.

¹² The only exception concerns a fourth syllable of the Sapphic hendecasyllabus which in the 35th line of this poem is short: 'In tuos greges hereboque mittent.' This syllable was in Horace nearly always, and after Horace always, long; before him, however, it was a *syllaba anceps*.

calendar in those years (24 hexameters; Alardus II, pp. 296-297). After mentioning the Trinity and the Virgin, it dutifully enumerates the usual categories of Saints in the order of the *Te Deum* or the litany of all Saints.

One of Agricola's biographers mentions another religious poem, a hymn on St. Anthony, which is now lost.

I would like to end this survey of Agricola's poetry with some general remarks. From a technical point of view these poems are excellent. The metre is always correct, that is, conforming to classical standards. For what sometimes at first seems to be a metrical anomaly, a classical counterpart can always be found (classical in the wider sense, so to speak, from Ennius down to Boethius). The same goes for other metrical matters as elision and the like, but also for the way in which in hexameter poetry, for example, the words are divided between the last two feet of the line. Modern research on classical hexameter poetry has shown that the way in which a hexameter is constructed, as regards the number of dactyls and spondees, is a result of conscious and intentional planning.¹³ This also obtains for the frequency with which differently or similarly structured lines follow each other. Agricola, wittingly or unwittingly, seems to have applied this process in his hexameter poetry.

I think one could say that in the eyes of his contemporaries Agricola's metrical technique was perfect. If we have objections to certain phenomena that to us, formed by five further centuries of metrical studies, seem unusual, we must keep in mind that Agricola, when first learning to write Latin poetry, had as yet only medieval text-books at his disposal.

His vocabulary is classical: he does not use typically Christian terminology nor are there medieval-Latin words in his poems. He does, however, choose his words from the entire period of Latin antiquity. He does not restrict himself solely to words that appear in Cicero or Virgil, but, if necessary, uses a word that, for example, occurs only in Claudian or Boethius. This is also the reason why Agricola cannot by any stretch of the imagination be called *alter Maro* or a 'Virgilian' poet (one has only to read a couple of pages of for example Baptista Mantuanus to know what Virgilian poetry looks like).

His grammar and syntax are unexceptionable, but of course he uses the liberties of poetical diction that are known to us from classical poetry.

In technical matters Agricola is by far the better poet when compared to contemporaries like Alexander Hegius and Rudolph von Langen (the Italians had a lead of some 50 years over their Northern-European fellow-poets). As a poet in our sense of the word, however, he falls short of what the modern reader would expect. One cannot expect a pre-

¹³ E.g. Duckworth, *Vergil and classical hexameter poetry*; Platnauer, *Latin Elegiac Verse*.

Romantic poet to 'pour forth his full heart in profuse strains of unpremeditated art', to quote the romantic Shelley; but even when viewed from the classical idea of *imitatio* and *aemulatio*, there simply is not enough 'poetry' and imagination and inspiration in his poems. Agricola wrote poetry, because, as a humanist, one was expected to write poetry, as one was also expected to write letters, treatises and speeches.

The last time Agricola was called a 'Virgilian' poet, was, to my knowledge, in the biography of Agricola by Tresling.¹⁴ He calls Agricola a *poeta natus* and his works *carmina sublimia, ad Virgilii imaginem expressa*. A few years before Tresling's biography, the Leyden professor Hofman Peerlkamp published a book on the life and learning of Latin poets of Dutch origin.¹⁵ His judgment on Agricola's poetic qualities is more adequate. Referring to Erasmus' adage *Quid cani cum balneo*, where Erasmus says of Agricola: *in carmine alterum Maronem dixisses*, Hofman Peerlkamp states that this seems exaggerated, but he continues with the remark that Agricola, considering the time he lived in and the knowledge and understanding of the people he came from, was a successful poet. Or, to quote his own words: *Mihi apparere videtur, nimias fuisse laudes, quas Agricolae tribuit Erasmus, Agricolam tamen pro captu saeculi sui et gentis, felicem fuisse poetam.*

¹⁴ Tresling, *Vita et Merita Rodolphi Agricolae*, 47-48.

¹⁵ Hofman Peerlkamp, *De vita ac doctrina omnium Belgarum* (1838), 22.

C. P. H. M. TILMANS

CORNELIUS AURELIUS (c. 1460-1531),
PRAECEPTOR ERASMI?

Alardus of Amsterdam (c. 1491 - 28 Aug. 1544) could not refrain from commemorating Agricola on every possible occasion. Among his poems published in the *Epistola Cornelii Croci* (Cologne, Dec. 1531) we find one dedicated to Agricola as the founding father of humanism in the Low Countries:¹

Rodolpho Agricolae Phrisio

Agricolae veterumque vides monumenta virorum.
Tu quas, quaeso, paras linquere reliquias?
Providus exacta quamvis aetate colonus,
Quae non ille metet, haec tamen arva seret.

Alardus considered the admired *Phrisius* to be on the same level with classical writers, the *veteres viri*. A few pages earlier he gave Erasmus, the genius of humanists from Holland,² a similar compliment by comparing him to Pindarus.³ Without any doubt Agricola had enormous significance for Alardus' generation of humanists in Holland. Alardus dedicated his other poems, mostly epitaphs, to the lesser lights of Dutch humanism. He wrote, for example, a poem praising that excellent teacher Gerardus Bastius,⁴ 'Batavam iuventam literas docens bonas' and two particularly inspired epitaphs on the learned abbot Meinard Man (abbot 1509-1526), under whose guidance the monastery of Egmond had become an intellectual centre in Holland not very different from the position of Aduard in the north of the Netherlands.⁵ Willem Hermans, the friend of Erasmus, who had died young in 1510, is praised with the words 'bonus arte dicendi, sed ex tempore melior poeta, ast optimus historicus'.⁶

The English of this article was corrected by Prof. R. Vaughan.

¹ *Epistola Cornelii Croci Aemstelredami*, G3 v.

² By 'Holland' I mean the medieval county of Holland. Every time I use the adjective 'Dutch', I intend to say 'from Holland' in this limited medieval sense.

³ *Epistola Cornelii Croci*, E3 v.

⁴ *Ibidem*, G1 v.

⁵ *Ibidem*, F8.

⁶ Sterck, *Onder Amsterdamsche humanisten*, 108-122. De Vocht, *Monumenta humanistica Lovaniensia*, 68-93.

One of Alardus' epitaphs is dedicated to the subject of this paper:⁷

Cornelio Aurelio Gaudensi

Tantisper viguit multorum munere functus,
 Dum studet assidue dumque laborat item,
 Artificique manu sinuosa volumina scribit,
 In iuge collapsae religionis opus;
 5 Dum steriles hortos ita furcis saepe repurgat,
 Crescat ut evulsis utilis herba rubis;
 Grandius Iliade nitidum cultumque volumen,
 Acta Batavorum scribit et historias;
 10 Divorum laudes prosaque et carmine cantat,
 Concelebrans Mariae non sine laude decus;
 Facundoque novos compescuit ore tumultus,
 Syncere populum dum sacra verba docet.
 Assiduas operas simulatque remisit, in auras
 Aurelius superas membra solitus abit.
 15 Quem prior est mirata, sequens mirabitur aetas,
 Quod veri monachi vera erat effigies.

In these sixteen lines Alardus gives a good impression of the long, busy, worthy and pious life of this Augustinian monk: as long as he lived, he was devoted to writing poetry and prose on important and honourable subjects such as the history of his native Holland and the Roman catholic faith.⁸ Alardus' epitaph is also informative because it implies that Aurelius in his religious works opposed Lutheranism. And in Aurelius' own time it was apparently common knowledge that he was writing a comprehensive chronicle in the vernacular for the Leiden printer Jan Severszn: 'grandius Iliade, nitidum cultumque volumen'.⁹ Alardus praised Aurelius' literary achievements, and we can understand why he did so: they appealed to his Dutch patriotism and to his fierce anti-Lutheranism. But his last sentence, 'that he was the true image of the true monk', would not have sounded quite like a compliment for humanists such as Agricola, Erasmus and lesser men like Ulsenius and Canter. Erasmus had left the monastery of Steyn as early as 1493, whereas Aurelius spent his whole life alternately in three Augustinian

⁷ *Epistola Cornelii Croci*, G1.

⁸ *Ibidem*, G1 v.

⁹ Considering his university career and later statements on his age, Aurelius' date of birth must be placed around 1460. For his death see Dykmans, *Obituaire du monastère de Groenendael*, 230, 415. His last poem was the *Epigramma* on the election of Ferdinand as Roman king (5 January 1531): Gouda City Library MS 1323 f. 36r.

⁹ We know it only through Fruin, 'De samensteller van de zoogenaamde Divisiekroniek', 66-72. See also Ebels-Hoving, 'Het karakter van de Divisiekroniek', 246-282.

monasteries in Holland.¹⁰ He remained faithful to the learning and education of the Modern Devotion; Thomas à Kempis's *De imitatione Christi* (first edition 1473) remained his lifelong favourite bedside book. In fact Aurelius is a good example of the Northern humanist whom Professor IJsewijn termed 'humanist Christian',¹¹ and he was a very diligent and productive one at that, for he left more than thousand pages in manuscript. Before his death he transferred his 'sinuosa volumina' to a safe place by giving them to his friend, the bookcollector Johannes Theodericus Harius who also possessed Agricola's *De formando studio*.¹² But was he also a successful humanist? Aurelius wrote much but published only three letters of dedication, two occasional poems and four religious poems under his own name.¹³ Of the *Apologia Erasmi et Cornelii sub dialogo lamentabili assumpta adversus barbaros* published in Gouda in 1513, he can only partly be considered the author.¹⁴ Aurelius was ambitious enough to try to find ways of giving his work a wider audience, but he was not very successful.¹⁵ However, it is not entirely fair and correct to take only the number of contemporary publications as an indication of successful learning. Much first-rate humanist work was not published in its own time, probably for the simple reason that printers could hardly keep up with the immense supply of manuscripts. For Aurelius there were some particular difficulties in publishing. The intellectual climate in monasteries belonging to the congregations of Windesheim and Sion, was not very favourable to humanist studies. Aurelius' writings tell us that he was too poor to send his correspondents copies of his manuscripts. He had insufficient paper and ink to write and

¹⁰ Aurelius called himself *Lopsenus* (after Sint-Hieronymusdal or Lopsen near Leiden) or *Duncenus* (after Hemsdonk near Schoonhoven). His monastic life shows the following periods: 1486-1487, regular canon in Hemsdonk; 1488-1493, in Lopsen; 1494, prior of Hemsdonk; 1495-97, in Lopsen; 30 Oct. 1497 - Aug. 1498 on mission to Paris with a delegation from Lopsen; 1499-1508, in Lopsen, prior in the years 1502-1504; 1509, in Hemsdonk; 1510-1519, in Lopsen; 1520-1524, in Hemsdonk; 1525-1526, in Lopsen; 1526 - 8 Aug. 1531, in Eemstein near Dordrecht, after the closing of Lopsen. See *Monasticon Windesheimense III: Niederlande*, 270-272, 183-202; *Contemporaries of Erasmus* II, 88-89.

¹¹ IJsewijn, 'The coming of humanism', 282.

¹² Kronenberg, 'Werken van Cornelius Aurelius (Donkanus)', 69-79 and Kronenberg, 'Erasmus-uitgaven anno 1531', 116.

¹³ To Kronenberg, 'Werken van Cornelius Aurelius' can be added the *Carmen de Morte*, Haarlem City Library MS 183 D2: 4 f. 34-36; ten other poems in Gouda City Library MS 1323 f. 33-36, overlooked by Molhuysen, 'Cornelius Aurelius', IV (1905), 71-73; and his *Epigramma ad Sanctum Martinum* in Detmold Staatsarchiv MS L3 Holland nr. 429 f. 106r. Aurelius' publications are found in: Rob. Gaguin, *Compendium de origine*; Martinus de Gouda, *Compendium latini ideobatis*; Alardus Aemstelredamus, *Passio Domini nostri*; Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in libros L. Vallae*.

¹⁴ Reedijk, *The poems*, 47-54, 161-170.

¹⁵ Hadrianus VI. sive *Analecta historica*, ed. Burman, 248, 258.

he was suspected by the abbot because of his studies and his relations with humanists outside the monastery: 'Observor ita a priore nostro ut vix liceat mihi cum aliquo docto aut extraneo loqui.' Writing was at times difficult for Aurelius: '... ista (scil. oratio) etiam praeterea calatum sibi requirit intinctum quod tum neque locus facile admittit neque tempus.'¹⁶

In 1586 Aurelius was posthumously acknowledged by Bonaventura Vulcianus.¹⁷ This Leiden professor edited his two historical and geographical treatises on Batavia or Holland, thus making Aurelius one of the initiators of the so-called Batavian myth. This humanist myth identified the Dutch people, the 'Hollanders', with the ancient allies of the Roman conquerors, the *Batavi*, so that it could play an important role in the growing national consciousness of the young Dutch republic.¹⁸ In this same book, Vulcianus published Aurelius' letters to Dutch magistrates as well as his treatise for the Habsburg emperor Charles V (*Diadema imperatorum*). He introduced his book with a short biography of Aurelius, describing him as an important humanist. One qualification of Aurelius by Vulcianus was to play a crucial role for his appreciation by future generations; it appears already on the front page:

... Auctore Corn. Aurelio
D. Erasmi Roterodami olim praceptor,

Since then in almost every list of learned and famous Dutchmen we read *Aurelius olim praceptor Erasmi*: Aurelius once teacher of Erasmus.

Aurelius, teacher of Erasmus? Must we, then, reserve a place for Aurelius in the genealogy of learning in the Low Countries? Does this mean that not only Alexander Hegius, pupil of Agricola, but also our pious monk, inspired Erasmus with a passion for the *studia humanitatis*? Before answering these questions we have to look first at a more simple question: how and when did Aurelius receive this epithet *praceptor Erasmi*? For this we must go back to the year 1515. In that year Aurelius received a letter from Louvain from his friend Alardus of Amsterdam. Alardus emphasized the esteem which the Dutch circle at Louvain university had for Aurelius. He stated that they were all astonished by the fact that the by then famous Erasmus 'sincerissimi semper amici et praceptoris nusquam meminit'.¹⁹

In 1515 the close contact between Aurelius and Erasmus was already a matter of the past, a fact which was quite obvious to their mutual Dutch

¹⁶ *Psalterium Davidicum*, Leiden University Library MS Vulcianus 99, f. 1v and f. 29.

¹⁷ Aurelius, *Batavia*. For Vulcianus see Molhuysen, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* X, 1143-1144.

¹⁸ Schöffer, 'The Batavian myth', 78-101.

¹⁹ Aurelius, *Batavia*, *8v.

friends. In this context the epithet *praeceptor* becomes far less impressive in our eyes: whatever Aurelius had meant for Erasmus earlier, his former 'pupil' now seemed to have forgotten this. Close friends they had been in Erasmus' first years in the monastery, in 1489-1490; at that time Aurelius was staying in Lopse near Leiden and Erasmus in Steyn near Gouda. A collection of eighteen letters bears witness to this friendship; fifteen of these letters were probably exchanged in 1489. It is an interesting correspondence because these letters are the first proof that humanism had also penetrated into the county of Holland. Erasmus in particular, at least six years the younger, who had just left Alexander Hegius' school, put into words the feeling that a new era had come. They had left the 'dark ages' behind them, he wrote to Aurelius. They had rediscovered the classical writers, and the arts were again being practiced at a high level, poetry was improving, education had become better thanks to their knowledge of the classical writers. According to Erasmus, Filelfo and Valla had saved them from cultural barbarism. But not only Italians excelled in eloquence; the North also, *Germania*, had its own *eruditi* and *literatissimi*. In Erasmus' eyes, Rudolph Agricola was the first and most important humanist of the North. He praised him as 'a man not only exceptionally highly educated in all the liberal arts, but extremely proficient in oratory and poetry, and moreover as well acquainted with Greek as with Latin'.²⁰ And now in Holland a new generation of learned men followed Agricola's example: Aurelius, his nephew Willem Hermans from Gouda and Erasmus himself were the leading figures of this Dutch humanism.

Just twenty years of age, Erasmus expressed with firm conviction in his correspondence with Aurelius the beginning of a new era of learning in Holland. Aurelius played a different role. He was the older *canonicus doctus* and *magister artium* who tried to temper the youthful enthusiasm of Erasmus. Aurelius' attitude towards the new learning can be explained by his education. At school in Deventer at the beginning of the seventies, it was not yet Agricola's inheritance that prevailed, but rather Thomas à Kempis's. The universities which Aurelius probably attended, Cologne (1477-81), Louvain (1482) and Paris (1483-85), were still centres of scholasticism.²¹

This view of Aurelius' intellectual make-up is confirmed by his letters to Erasmus. He was the more prudent, the more conservative of the two.

²⁰ Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum* (ed. Allen) I 23 ll. 57-59.

²¹ Keussen, *Die Matrikel* II, 1477, 354.74. Reusens, *Matricule* II, 1482, 461.209. Denifle, *Auctarium* III, 576.28 and VI, 604.24, 619.11, 620.14. On the universities mentioned see *The universities*, ed. IJsewijn, *passim* and Overfield, *Humanism and Scholasticism*, *passim*.

He was the admirer of the Italian Christian poet Girolamo Balbi whom he may have heard as professor in Paris in 1485.²² One thing is beyond question for the reader of these letters: the ‘pupil’ is far too clever for the ‘teacher’. Erasmus was the better informed about the new learning; he had read the classical authors and the modern humanists; he realized the enormous importance of classical rhetoric. This appears from their polemic on Valla²³ and also from their difference of opinion about poetry.

According to Aurelius²⁴ a good poem – he called it *poeisis* or *fictio* – had not only external form, that is literal sense, but also content, that is metaphorical sense. A *poeta doctus*, a good poet, must be able to compose a harmonious poem, in which form and content, literal and metaphorical meaning are clear and in harmony. Otherwise a poet is only a *versificator*, an outrage for one who considered himself a humanist poet.²⁵ Aurelius stressed the didactic usefulness of the metaphor by referring to the classical writers Strabo and Vergil who ‘invented fables for the public good’.²⁶ In his answer to Aurelius, Erasmus acknowledged that good poetry should have a profound significance.²⁷ But this is not to say that every *poeta doctus* was gifted or talented. What made a poet talented was the ability to invent themes, to produce clever composition and a harmony of style. Purity and lucidity of style were especially important. In short, good poetry had to follow the principles of rhetoric and poetics found in the writings of Cicero, Quintilian and Horace. Aurelius based his theory of poetry on traditional scholastic interpretations of texts but Erasmus stated the authority of the classics.

The early letters exchanged between Erasmus and Aurelius do not in themselves prove that Aurelius was *praeceptor Erasmi*. All other evidence seems to support this negative conclusion. In fact Erasmus never described Aurelius as *praeceptor meus*, whereas his Deventer teacher Alexander Hegius received this compliment more than once. Erasmus gave a very accurate and specific context to this word. *Praeceptor*, the true teacher, was as a father to his son, his pupil.²⁸ In this sense Erasmus saw

²² Allen, ‘Hieronymus Balbus in Paris’, 417-428 and Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum* (ed. Allen) I 23, 105 n. 47.

²³ Des. Erasmus *Opera omnia* I-4, 191-198 and Chomarat, *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Erasme* I, 242-243.

²⁴ Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum* (ed. Allen) I 25 ll. 13-48. IJsewijn, ‘Coming of humanism’, 251-252. Aurelius expressed similar thoughts on poetry, after 1520, in *Psalterium Davidicum*, Leiden University Library MS Vulcanius 99, f. 1-4.

²⁵ Gerardus Geldenhouwer Noviomagus called Aurelius *nobilis versificator* in his list of *clari scriptores Bataviae*, P. Scriverius, *Batavia illustrata*, 69.

²⁶ Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum* (ed. Allen) I 25 ll. 37-39.

²⁷ *Ibidem* I, 27; this letter is the answer to *Opus epistolarum* I 25. *Opus epistolarum* I 26 is Erasmus’ answer to Aurelius’ letter *Opus epistolarum* I 24.

²⁸ *Opus epistolarum* I 56.

himself as a son of Alexander Hegius and a grandson of Rudolph Agricola. There is only one, indirect proof that Erasmus admitted that he had learned something from Aurelius. In a letter to Aurelius, written in the spring of 1497, Arnold Bostius, a Carmelite from Ghent, recalled the words of Erasmus taking pride in the poetic instruction, *eruditio*, he had received from his friend Aurelius: 'Gloriatur magnopere Herasmus vir omnium nostrae aetatis facile doctissimus de tua eruditione et amicitia nec Egidium Delium poetam tibi scribit comparabilem, et optimam scribendi veniam te habere fatetur.'²⁹ Apparently Erasmus had written to Bostius that Aurelius as a poet was far better than Aegidius Delius. However, the very minor reputation Aegidius had, makes this compliment rather a dubious one. Aurelius on his side was very proud about his ability to write poetry in all different kinds of metre, and he added the letter he received from Bostius with the compliments of Erasmus to one of the manuscripts containing a part of his religious poetry.³⁰

In the autumn of 1498, however, after a meeting between Aurelius and Erasmus in Paris, their friendship was apparently over. Erasmus complained in a letter to their mutual friend Willem Hermans about Aurelius not answering a letter Erasmus had sent him.³¹ After this incident Erasmus never mentioned the name of his former friend again. Others had to remind Erasmus of their old friendship. Thus Alardus of Amsterdam wrote to Erasmus on 1 July 1516 in Louvain:³² 'Please do not fail to do as much as you can to assist the efforts which your friend Cornelius has expended on Jerome.' But instead of helping Aurelius, Erasmus wrote his own *Vita Hieronymi*, which was published in Cologne in December 1517.³³ In 1522 he portrayed his old friend and *eruditus*, instructor of poetry, as the monk Cornelius in a colloquy called *De votis temere suspectis*, a parody on the practice of pilgrimage.

After his return from Paris in the autumn of 1498, Aurelius spent the rest of his life in his beloved Holland. We can safely assume that from this monastery Aurelius followed the brilliant career of his former friend. In a

²⁹ Molhuysen, 'Cornelius Aurelius' II (1903), 27, 28 and Van Veen, 'Een kwestie van datering', 137-141.

³⁰ Leiden University Library MS Vulcanius 98G f. 1r.

³¹ *Opus epistolarum* I 81 ll. 83. Erasmus kept writing to Hermans until autumn 1503: *Opus epistolarum* I 178. Cf. *Opus epistolarum* I 186 from 1505 in which Erasmus asked a friend in Steyn to send him letters left there: '... especially those written in some quantity to Cornelius of Gouda, in very large number to my friend Willem...'.

³² *Opus epistolarum* II 433 ll. 35-36.

³³ Erasmus: *Erasmi Opuscula*, 125-190. Aurelius' *Vita glorioi Jheronimi* is preserved in Deventer Athenaeum Library MS I. 32. The relation between Erasmus' *Vita* and Aurelius's remains to be studied: Béné, *Erasme et Saint Augustin*, 48-52 and Olin, 'Erasmus's Life of Jerome', 269-274.

letter to Jacob Faber, teacher at the Deventer school and the editor of Alexander Hegius' poems, Aurelius made clear that Erasmus had helped him finish the first part of his long poem about the life of the Virgin Mother. In this letter, probably written in 1495, Aurelius called the young Erasmus his *maecenas*.³⁴ He was grateful for the encouragement he had received from Erasmus. He added a letter by Erasmus, written in 1494, which lavishly praised the poem to the prologue of his *Marias*.

Three years later Aurelius, in his very first publication, openly admitted Erasmus' superiority. In a letter of dedication to Robert Gaguin's *Compendium de origine et gestis Francorum* Aurelius wrote that he praised Gaguin far less than he deserved because '... my friend Erasmus has sung the most important parts of your praise in the first edition with that famous eloquent voice of his...'³⁵ Aurelius did not even dare to compete with him.

We have considered two statements of Aurelius about Erasmus made before 1500. It was, of course, very attractive for Aurelius to stress his personal and spiritual relationship with him after 1500 as Erasmus was becoming the most famous humanist of his time. Of these two elements, Erasmus 'my friend' and Erasmus 'my kindred spirit', we find a clear proof in a letter to Cornelis Hoen, a well-known Sacramentarian and an admirer of Wessel Gansfort.³⁶ In this letter, written in 1524, Aurelius encouraged Hoen not to be deterred from the *studia humanitatis* by his public duties as a lawyer in The Hague. Long ago *noster* Erasmus had given him the same important advice. Aurelius wrote Hoen that in his monastery it was forbidden to read the books of Erasmus and that, if found, they would possibly be burned. The same fate he feared for his own literary offspring. It is interesting to note the congeniality Aurelius felt for Erasmus.

In 1529 Aurelius edited Erasmus' *Paraphrasis* of Valla's *Elegantiae linguae Latinae* without the author's permission.³⁷ He justified this act by referring to a precedent created by Erasmus himself, thirty years before.³⁸ Maybe it was not an elegant procedure, Aurelius wrote, but he was following Erasmus' example. He ended his excuses in a tone of naive

³⁴ IJsewijn, 'Erasmus ex poeta theologus', 387 § 13.

³⁵ Rob. Gaguin, *Compendium*, after f. 108: ... *Parcius te laudo, candidissime pater, quam dignus sis, tum quod primarias tue laudis partes meus Herasmus illo suo facundissimo ore occupavit...*

³⁶ *Hadrianus VI. sive Analecta Historica*, ed. Burman, 247-250. Leiden University Library MS Vulcanius 66, ff. 1-3. Trapman, 'Le rôle des "Sacramentaires"', 19-21. Hoen died before April 1525; Aurelius must have written this letter between 14 January and 29 September 1524.

³⁷ Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus*, 47-54.

³⁸ Erasmus, *Paraphrasis*, f. 97.

admiration: why apologize so scrupulously to a friend who was apt to forgive anything, even the enemies who challenged him unwisely? The 'good-natured' Erasmus reacted fiercely in a letter: 'The alphabetical order in which a donkey has put it makes correcting a hopeless job.' Two years later Erasmus published his own *Epitome* of Valla.³⁹

Exemplum sequor, 'I follow his example', Aurelius admitted towards the end of his life. These words are of some significance if we examine the literary career of Aurelius. During his entire life he must have kept an eye on the writings of his brilliant former friend. Comparing their writings, we must conclude that Erasmus published and Aurelius followed in his own modest way.⁴⁰ When Aurelius was writing his *Vita Hieronymi* in 1516, Erasmus had already edited the *Opera omnia* of Jerome.⁴¹ In 1520 Aurelius dedicated his *Diadema imperatorum* and his *Opus Palmarium* to the young Habsburg ruler Charles V, both treatises intended as a guide for the Christian emperor.⁴² Erasmus' *Institutio principis Christiani* had already been published in 1516. Aurelius modelled his incitements to peace addressed to the king of France, Francis I, written in 1519 and entitled *Apocalipsis et narratio facetissima super obitu Lodovici regis Gallorum et morte Maximiliani imperatoris Romanorum* on Erasmus' *Julius exclusus*, published in 1517.⁴³ In his *Adagia* Erasmus published a *Prosopopoeia Britanniae*. Aurelius wrote, twenty years later, a *Prosopopoeia Phrisiae*.⁴⁴ We might go on in the same way: for every treatise of Aurelius there is a work of Erasmus expressing the same thoughts in similar forms.

The conclusion must be that Aurelius does not really deserve the epithet *praeceptor Erasmi*. From the very first moment Erasmus took the lead in their exchange of ideas. It was Erasmus who pointed out to his friend that classical rhetoric and philology were compatible with, yes, useful for their religious ideals. Only barbarians thought that poetry contained nothing but immoral values. Erasmus knew better; elegant style could express virtuous and serious thought. Already in 1489 Erasmus viewed the letters of Jerome as the ideal combination of classical scholarship and Christian theology. Aurelius was slower in realizing the importance and usefulness of pagan classical literature for a Christian

³⁹ *Opus epistolarum* XI 2412. See also *Opus epistolarum* VIII 2260.

⁴⁰ The works of Erasmus mentioned here were present in the Library of Johannes Theodericus Harius to which Aurelius had access, as appears from Leiden University Library MS Vulcanius 99 f. 29 and f. 88v. See Kronenberg, 'Erasmusuitgaven', 99-117.

⁴¹ *Erasmi Opuscula*, ed. Ferguson, 131.

⁴² *Diadema imperatorum*, Leiden University Library MS Vulcanius 99B; Vulcanius' edition of 1586 is very incomplete. *Opus Palmarium*, Leiden University Library MS Vulcanius 98B.

⁴³ *Apocalipsis*, Leiden University Library MS Vulcanius 99B f. 26-28.

⁴⁴ *Prosopopoeia Phrisiae*, Leiden University Library MS Vulcanius 66 f. 127-131.

writer. He was afraid that the pagan writers and an excessively ornamented style would spoil Christian ears.⁴⁵

Aurelius was not the *praeceptor Erasmi*, but an epigone of Erasmus. Evidence for this are his letters and his Latin treatises. But if it is true that Aurelius borrowed many ideas from Erasmus, he nevertheless also deserves his own, though modest place in the development of Dutch humanism after Agricola. The biggest compliment Aurelius could receive, was the fact that his colloquy *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbarie* was attributed, in 1684, to Erasmus.⁴⁶ But Aurelius' lasting reputation as a scholar in his own right depends on his historical works, inspired by a profound Dutch, *Hollands*, patriotism. It is of course well-known that Erasmus as a cosmopolitan had no special affection for the rulers and politics of his *patria Holland*.⁴⁷ So he lacked an important urge for writing its history. In writing history, an important part of the *studia humanitatis*, Aurelius reached a certain intellectual independence. He was the first who wrote extensively, using Caesar, Pliny and Tacitus, about the forefathers of the *Hollanders*, 'Batavi fratres et amici Imperii ... tributorum expertes ... milites inperterriti...'.⁴⁸ In two treatises, written around 1510, Aurelius tried to give his fatherland Holland a new 'national' identity. The most important results of his research into Dutch antiquity, including archeological and geographical evidence, were incorporated by Aurelius in his grand Dutch chronicle in the vernacular, published in 1517. In this way it became possible to give the new ideas about the Batavian past a much broader diffusion.⁴⁹

In 1508 the Venetian printer Aldus Manutius published Erasmus' new *Adagia*-edition.⁵⁰ The last adage in this book is *Auris Batava*, the Batavian ear, the classical phrase for bad taste. Erasmus, however, recoinced this phrase. The Batavian people, the 'Hollanders', were not rustic and uncivilised; on the contrary, they were sincere and gifted, although Erasmus admitted that his fellow countrymen were a little given to good food and drink.

⁴⁵ IJsewijn, 'Erasmus ex poeta theologus', 385 § 3 and 387 § 17. Aurelius' Neo-Latin poetry deserves a separate study, see IJsewijn, 'Humanism in the Low Countries before 1500', 116-117.

⁴⁶ Kronenberg, 'Werken van Cornelius Aurelius', 76-77. Erasmus never called this colloquy his own nor did he edit it: *Des. Erasmi Opera omnia* I-3, 19 n. 85. For the editor of the *Conflictus* under Erasmus' name see De Vet, *Pieter Rabus*, 60-67.

⁴⁷ Cf. Huizinga, 'Erasmus über Vaterland und Nationen', 252-267. See Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum* II 485 ll. 51-55, where Alardus of Amsterdam observed the different attitude of Erasmus and Aurelius towards their fatherland.

⁴⁸ Aurelius, *Batavia*, 42-43.

⁴⁹ Aurelius stated that he wrote this chronicle for '... cloecke ende vernuftige leke luyden, die geen Latijn en verstaen...', *Cronycke van Hollandt*. Prologue.

⁵⁰ Mann Phillips, *Erasmus on his times*, 32-33.

So it was again Erasmus who blazed the trail. But in this one and only case Aurelius refused to admit it. In fact, in his manuscript Aurelius made it clear that at least the idea of writing about the Batavian past was his own and he suggested that he had already been studying Dutch history ten years before Erasmus published his *Auris Batava*.⁵¹ Could Erasmus have read his treatise, Aurelius wondered.⁵² Having studied for some time now the manuscripts of Aurelius, I am inclined to answer in the affirmative.⁵³

⁵¹ Aurelius, *Batavia*, 52-53 and 62-63. Leiden University Library MS Mij. Ned. Lett. 743 f. 4 and f. 10.

⁵² Aurelius, *Batavia*, 77. Leiden University Library MS Mij. Ned. Lett. 743 f. 14v.

⁵³ For the analysis of Aurelius as a historian see my forthcoming dissertation on Cornelius Aurelius (Gouda ca. 1460 - Dordrecht 1531) and the *Divisiekroniek* of 1517.

G. TOURNOY

MARSILE FICIN, AGRICOLA ET LEURS TRADUCTIONS DE L'AXIOCHOS

Dans le cadre des recherches menées au sein du Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae de la Katholieke Universiteit Leuven sur les connaissances grecques de Rodolphe Agricola dont un premier bilan provisoire a été brillamment dressé par M. J. IJsewijn, je me suis attaqué en première instance à l'*Axiochos*. L'*Axiochos* est ce dialogue pseudo-platonicien sur le mépris de la mort, qui a été beaucoup lu et très apprécié pendant la Renaissance, et dont un passage de la traduction française, faite par Etienne Dolet (Lyon, 1544), a été la cause du procès et de la condamnation à mort de cet humaniste français.¹ Etrange ironie!

Si j'ai pris ce dialogue comme thème, c'est d'abord parce que l'*Axiochos* est le premier texte grec traduit en latin par un humaniste de nos contrées en Italie, en l'occurrence Agricola.

De plus, cette traduction a connu pas mal de succès, eu égard aux autres traductions faites par Agricola: certes, elle ne peut pas rivaliser avec sa traduction de l'*Ad Demonicum*, dont on connaît une dizaine de manuscrits et plus de cent éditions;² mais de ce point de vue l'*Axiochos* d'Agricola surpassé nettement son *Ad Nicoclem* d'Isocrate et ses deux traductions de Lucien (*De calumnia et Gallus*). En effet, pour l'*Axiochos* on compte au moins 7 manuscrits et plus de trente éditions.³

¹ Chevalier, *Etude critique du dialogue pseudo-platonicien 'l'Axiochos'*, 126-129.

² Voir à ce propos Geerinckx, «R. Agricola's Latijnse vertaling van (ps.-)Isocrates' 'Ad Demonicum'» et Gualdo Rosa, *La fede nella 'paideia'*; Huisman, *Rudolph Agricola. A Bibliography of Printed Works and Translations*.

³ Il convient sans doute d'énumérer ici les éditions et manuscrits venus à ma connaissance:

- a) les mss.: Düsseldorf, Landes- und Stadtbibliothek, F.10, ff. 88r-91r (*cod. descriptus*); London, British Library, Burney 226, ff. 1r-8v; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, *cod. poet. et philol.* 4° 36, ff. 297v-303v (= 317v-323v) et 4° 38, ff. 1v-8v; Vat' Lat. 11020, ff. 20r-25r; Vat. Urb. Lat. 1316, ff. 262r-273r (*cod. descriptus*).
- b) les éditions: Deventer, R. Paffraet, ca. 1480 (CA 1419 = Cop. 4766); Louvain, Jean de Westphalie, ca. 1483 (CA 1420 = Cop. 4768); Mayence, P. von Friedberg, ca. 1493 (Cop. 4767); Paris, Alex. Aliate, ca. 1502; Deventer, R. Paffraet, ca. 1506; Anvers, Th. Martens, 1511; Leipzig, V. Schumann, 1515; Bâle, A. Cratander, 1518; Paris, Bade, 1518; Paris, Bade, 1522; Bâle, Froben, 1532; Paris, Bade, 1534; Cologne, 1539 (+ réimpression anastatique: Nieuwkoop, 1967); Bâle, Froben, 1539; Bâle, Froben, 1546; Lyon, Vincentius, 1548; Lyon, Tornaeus, 1550; Bâle, Froben, 1551; Paris, 1552; Venise, 1556; Lyon, 1556; Lyon, 1557; Bâle, 1561; Lyon, 1567; Lyon, 1570;

En regardant d'un peu plus près cette série d'éditions, nous nous rendons compte d'une chose très remarquable, quoique pas tout à fait ignorée: dans l'introduction à une édition qui a paru il y a presque 200 ans, à savoir celle de Zweibrücken (1787), on lit à propos de l'*Axiochos*.⁴

Singulariter autem de hoc dialogo meriti sunt, primus Marsilius Ficinus, qui eum latine sub titulo *Xenocratis Platonici de morte*, versum et illustratum edidit anno 1497 apud Aldum Manutium ..., alter Rudolphus Agricola anno 1511 Antverpiae, 4^o et 1518 Basileae, 4^o; atque haec versio obtinuit etiam in quibusdam Ficinianis Platonis latine loquentis, ut illa Basileensi 1539, Lugdunensi Graeco-Latina 1590.

La traduction de Ficin a donc été remplacée par celle d'Agricola dans quelques éditions de la traduction des œuvres de Platon, faite par Ficin. A première vue cela semble assez déconcertant, quoiqu'il ne s'agisse pas d'un procédé entièrement nouveau.

Rappelons seulement deux ou trois cas analogues, très bien connus dans la tradition du *Décameron*.

La dernière nouvelle du *Décameron*, la célèbre histoire de Griseldis, a été traduite en latin par François Pétrarque. Très vite, cette version latine sert à son tour de modèle à deux traductions françaises en prose. La seconde traduction, anonyme, date du début du quinzième siècle. Elle a été publiée pour la première fois, séparément, en 1485 à Bréhan-Loudéac (Bretagne) par Robin Fouquet et Jean Cres. C'est cette traduction qui a supplanté la *Griseldis* traduite directement de l'italien dans quelques manuscrits et éditions de la traduction complète du *Décameron*, faite par Laurent de Premierfait en 1414. On la retrouve déjà dans l'*editio princeps* de la traduction intégrale, imprimée par Antoine Vérard à Paris en 1485.⁵

Les autres cas se rencontrent quelques années plus tard, en Espagne. Un des auteurs les plus élégants de la prose catalane, Bernat Metge (1359-1413) avait traduit en 1388 la dernière nouvelle du *Décameron*, tout en se basant sur la version latine de Pétrarque. C'est cette version qui a été reprise en 1429 par l'auteur anonyme de la première traduction intégrale du *Décameron* en catalan. Il en va de même pour l'*editio princeps* de la première traduction castillenne (parue à Séville en 1496), où la 79^e

Venise, Scotus, 1570/71; Lyon, 1581; Venise, Scotus, 1581; Lyon, 1588; Lyon, Tornaeius, 1590; Lyon, Le Preux, 1590; Genève, 1592; Francfort, 1602; Zweibrücken, 1787.

⁴ ΠΛΑΤΩΝ. *Platonis philosophi quae exstant Graece ad editionem Henrici Stephani accurate expressa cum Marsilii Ficini interpretatione. Accedit varietas lectionis studiis Bipontinae.* Vol. XI (Biponti, 1787), p. vi.

⁵ Hauvette, «Les plus anciennes traductions françaises de Boccace», 1909, 7 et 207; (1968, 257 et 291) et Golenistcheff-Koutouzoff, *L'Histoire de Griseldis en France*, 145-147.

nouvelle nous offre non pas la traduction de la nouvelle originale italienne, mais bien celle de sa version latine.⁶

Mais revenons à nos moutons. Le succès de l'*Axiochos* d'Agricola se fonde largement, pour deux tiers environ, sur les éditions latines des œuvres de Platon. La question qui se pose presque automatiquement est la suivante: quand, pourquoi et par qui la version de Ficin a-t-elle été remplacée par celle d'Agricola?

Pour une meilleure compréhension il me semble préférable d'esquisser d'abord brièvement quelques-uns des antécédents.

Dès le début du quinzième siècle, les œuvres de Platon commencent à être lues, commentées et traduites en Italie. En premier lieu, c'est l'œuvre politique qui attire l'attention: la *République* de Platon est traduite d'abord par Emmanuel Chrysoloras; cette traduction trop littérale et peu élégante est remaniée ensuite par son élève Uberto Decembrio. Cette nouvelle traduction ne satisfait pas plus Pier Candido Decembrio, qui vers 1439 en fait une nouvelle version. Enfin, Antonio Cassarino la traduit encore une fois.⁷

Mais ni cette œuvre, ni aucune autre œuvre authentique de Platon n'a connu autant de succès que l'*Axiochos*.

Dans la première moitié du quinzième siècle se situent la traduction de Rinuccio d'Arezzo (1423/31), celle de Cencio de' Rustici (1436/7) et celle d'Antonio Cassarino (avant 1447). Toutes les trois n'ont connu qu'une diffusion assez restreinte, et elles n'ont été publiées qu'au vingtième siècle.⁸

Tout autre est la fortune des deux autres traductions, composées pendant la deuxième moitié du quinzième siècle: celle de Marsile Ficin (1464) et celle d'Agricola (1477/78).

Marsile Ficin traduit l'*Axiochos* à la demande de Cosme de' Médicis. Dans sa préface il nous donne des informations précises quant aux circonstances et aux raisons qui ont entraîné son effort:⁹

Vingt jours avant que son (= de Cosme) esprit se détachât des liens du corps, à l'heure où le Soleil se couche, Cosme commença à se plaindre de la misère de cette vie et à s'emporter contre les erreurs des hommes, au point de dire que la mort était un gain, puis il développa longuement et avec finesse de nombreux arguments sur le mépris de ce monde, comme quelqu'un qui aspirerait déjà à l'éternelle béatitude.

⁶ Bourland, «Boccaccio and the 'Decameron'»; De Riquer (ed.), *Obras de Bernat Metge*, *45-*58.

⁷ Garin, «Ricerche sulle traduzioni di Platone».

⁸ Belli, «Le versioni umanistiche dell'Assioco pseudoplatonico».

⁹ Traduction reprise de Marcel, *Marsile Ficin (1433-1499)*, 277.

Lorsqu'il se tût, je lui dis: «Cosme, Xénocrate, qui était un saint et un disciple bien-aimé de Platon, a dit tout cela dans son *De morte*.» Alors il me répondit: «Marsile, lis-moi en latin ce que Xénocrate a dit en grec.» Je le lui lus. Il approuva et me demanda d'en faire une véritable traduction.

Cosme meurt le 1^{er} août 1464. L'entretien que Ficin évoque dans sa préface a donc eu lieu le 11 juillet, et Ficin traduit sans doute le dialogue dans les jours qui suivent immédiatement la lecture au chevet de Cosme.

Cette traduction n'apparaît ni dans l'*editio princeps* de la traduction ficienienne des œuvres de Platon (Florence 1484), ni dans la deuxième édition améliorée (Venise 1491). Sous le titre «*Xenocratis philosophi Platonici liber de morte*», elle est imprimée pour la première fois par Alde Manuce à Venise, en septembre 1497. Cette dernière édition, dans laquelle on trouve l'*Axiochos* uni au *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum* de Jamblichus a été réimprimée plusieurs fois, et reproduite également dans les *Opera omnia* de Marsile Ficin (Bâle, 1561 et 1576; Paris, 1641).

Suivons maintenant la trace de l'*Axiochos* d'Agricola. Cette traduction est la seule à être imprimée à plusieurs reprises avant la mort de l'auteur. C'est également la première traduction latine de l'*Axiochos* qui a été publiée: l'*editio princeps* sort à Deventer, chez Richard Paffraet, vers 1480. Dans le colophon, l'imprimeur insiste sur le fait que le texte a été soigneusement corrigé par Agricola lui-même (f. 6r):

Finit foeliciter Platonis philosophi Axiochus de contemnenda morte per venerabilem magistrum Rodolphum Agricolam de Gronygen laudabiliter editus ac bene emendatus, et darentrae (*sic*) in platea episcopi impressus.

Mais quelle est la place de cette édition dans la tradition du texte? On connaît de l'*Axiochos* d'Agricola plusieurs manuscrits, qui représentent différentes étapes dans la genèse du texte.

La version la plus ancienne nous est transmise par le ms. Burney 226 de la British Library (= B); ce ms. ne contient pas la lettre de dédicace à Rodolphe von Langen; la traduction reste très proche, parfois trop proche de l'original grec (par exemple § 365d; § 369a), et on y rencontre quelques traductions fautives (§ 364c; § 369d), qui ont été corrigées dans les versions ultérieures.

Une seconde transcription de l'original a été fournie par Dietrich von Pleningen le douze juillet de l'an 1478, comme il nous le renseigne dans la souscription (f. 8v) du *codex poeticus et philologicus* 4° 38 de la Württembergische Landesbibliothek de Stuttgart (= P).

Cette version présente quelques leçons, qui étaient à l'origine les mêmes que dans le ms. de Londres, mais qui ont été corrigées par la suite; par ex. au début (§ 364c): «illum alloquere» se trouve dans les deux manuscrits, mais dans celui de Stuttgart le correcteur a biffé le mot

«alloquere» et l'a remplacé par «confirma», leçon qu'on retrouve dans toutes les versions ultérieures (de même § 365a; § 365c; § 369c, etc.).

Ce qui est remarquable ici, c'est que l'autre manuscrit conservé actuellement à Stuttgart, le *codex poeticus et philologicus* 4° 36 (= S), transcrit vers 1500, nous offre un texte qui dépend directement de P; mais on n'y retrouve que quelques-unes de ces corrections.¹⁰ Limitons-nous à un seul exemple des deux cas: dans P on lisait originalement «urbem tenet» (§ 369d), précisément comme dans B: cette expression y a été biffée et remplacée par «pullulat»; et c'est ce dernier mot que l'on retrouve dans S. Mais quelques lignes auparavant on lisait «expavescat», biffé et remplacé par «reformidet» dans P, et dans S on lit toujours «expavescat». Qu'est-ce que cela implique? Cela signifie que quelques corrections – mais pas toutes – ont été introduites dans P après qu'il ait servi de modèle à S. Et l'on pourrait se demander si, pour ces nouvelles corrections, un lecteur attentif (Dietrich von Pleningen?) n'a pas puisé dans une édition des œuvres d'Agricola, par exemple dans celle d'Anvers 1511.

L'édition d'Alardus de 1539 (= C) est très proche de P: elle n'en diffère généralement que par quelques inversions de mots, qui sont peut-être dues à l'éditeur lui-même.

Enfin, la dernière version est représentée par l'*editio princeps* (= D). Ici également il faut constater que l'auteur n'a pas tenu compte de toutes les corrections introduites dans les versions antérieures, de sorte qu'on peut remarquer régulièrement une concordance parfaite entre B et D. Ainsi par exemple tous les deux ont «discerpens» (§ 365c), «vero» (§ 368a), «quando» (§ 369b), les autres témoins produisant par contre «conturbans», «quoque», «quomodo».

Cette tendance s'intensifie vers la fin du dialogue (surtout à partir du § 371e). Ce qui saute surtout aux yeux dans l'*editio princeps*, c'est la révision systématique des pronoms: en premier lieu Agricola a remplacé presque partout le pronom «ipse» – par lequel le grec αὐτός est rendu dans les rédactions antérieures – par un pronom démonstratif plus commun en latin, comme «is» ou «ille».

Ensuite, on peut constater aussi que Rodolphe Agricola a appris, probablement par la lecture de Laurent Valla, l'usage correct du pronom réfléchi; et à plusieurs reprises il a substitué un pronom démonstratif au pronom réfléchi. La lettre d'introduction nous offre déjà un exemple.

¹⁰ Johann von Pleningen témoigne dans sa lettre à son frère Dietrich (S, f. 2v) qu'il a soigneusement fait transcrire les œuvres d'Agricola par son copiste Johann Pfeuzer, et qu'il a collationné lui-même cette transcription avec l'original (= P): «omnia namque cum exemplaribus contuli».

Dans les premières versions (PSC) on lit:

ut, cum acciperes eum (libellum), amici *sibi* potius sinum quam iudicis supercilium offerres,

dans D on relève par contre:

ut, cum acciperes eum (libellum), amici sinum *illi*, non iudicis supercilium offerres.

Nous pouvons conclure que cette première exploration des sources essentielles nous révèle la complexité, relative, de l'*Axiochos* d'Agricola.

Heureusement, la tradition imprimée semble suivre un cours plus rectiligne: l'édition publiée à Louvain par Jean de Westphalie vers 1483 se base sur l'*editio princeps*, et les autres éditions se fondent sur celle de Louvain ou sur une autre qui en dépend.

L'édition de Leipzig de l'an 1515 constitue une exception. Elle prend au moins deux éditions comme modèle: l'*editio princeps* et probablement aussi celle de Mayence de 1493 (cf. § 365b: «poena caventes»: *in margine*: «alii poena canentes, alii paeana caventes»).

Elle est aussi la dernière édition indépendante de l'*Axiochos*. Trois ans plus tard, à Bâle, paraît une réimpression des *Nonnulla opuscula* (édités pour la première fois par Pierre Gillis à Anvers en 1511), et avec la publication des *Lucubrationes aliquot* d'Alard d'Amsterdam en 1539 le fleuve d'éditions de l'*Axiochos* publiées sous le nom d'Agricola se tarit.

Mais voilà qu'une autre source, plus vitale encore, jaillit: en 1518 l'*Axiochos* d'Agricola pénètre dans la traduction latine des *Opera omnia* de Platon. Jusqu'à cette date, trois éditions de cette traduction ficienne de Platon avaient paru en Italie: la première à Florence en 1484, suivie de deux éditions vénitiennes (1491 et 1517). C'est le typographe flamand Josse Bade qui est responsable de l'insertion de l'*Axiochos* d'Agricola dans ce recueil prestigieux. Malheureusement pour nous, il n'explique ni dans son épître dédicatoire au conseiller du Roi, Michel Boudet, ni ailleurs, les raisons qui l'ont poussé à introduire dans son recueil la traduction d'Agricola au lieu de celle de Ficin, qu'il connaissait sans doute.¹¹ On pourrait supposer que la relation de Josse Bade avec l'ami anversois d'Erasme, Pierre Gillis, y a été pour quelque chose, ou que Josse Bade a préféré la version plus copulante, plus élégante d'Agricola à celle de Ficin. En tout cas, l'examen de cette édition montre clairement que cette traduction d'Agricola a été imprimée par Bade seulement après qu'il ait achevé d'imprimer les œuvres de Platon dans la traduction de Ficin. Elle

¹¹ Publiée pour la première fois à Venise en 1497, la traduction de Ficin fut imprimée sept fois avant 1518. Voir *Supplementum Ficinianum*, ed. Kristeller, I, LIX, LXIX-LXX, CXXXVII, et Belli (cf. n. 8), p. 442, n. 4.

apparaît en fait, en même temps que la traduction de l'*Alcyon* faire par Aug. Datus, la vie de Platon par Marsile Ficin et le préambule de Ficin à Laurent de Médicis, dans un cahier spécial, signé à, et c'est seulement après ces feuilles liminaires que le livre commence par une signature et par une pagination normales.

Mais peut-on vraiment comparer ces deux traductions? Pour celle de Ficin, on ne dispose que d'éditions assez vieilles et déficientes. Néanmoins, dans son article récent (cfr. n. 8), M. Antonio Belli s'est efforcé de confronter une première fois, non seulement ces deux textes, mais toutes les traductions composées en Italie au quinzième siècle, y compris celle d'Agricola. Sa conclusion est que les traductions de Marsile Ficin et d'Agricola sont basées sur des manuscrits provenant de différentes familles. Les fautes et les imprécisions que l'on rencontre dans leurs traductions sont, au moins en partie, imputables à la qualité de leurs modèles respectifs.

Ainsi Agricola traduit par exemple (§ 366a) ἀκραιφνή par «improvisa» (chez Ficin: «integra»), et χορείας par «gaudia vitae» (chez Ficin: «vitam chorumque supernum»); un peu plus loin (§ 366e) φόβος χειρῶν par «peior metus» (confusion avec χείρων!).

Dans la traduction d'Agricola on rencontre aussi quelques vraies fautes, comme dans la phrase (§ 367a) ὑπὸ σωφρονιστὰς καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν νέοντος αἰρεσιν τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς. Les deux premiers éléments de cette phrase, joints en grec par καί, se sont fondus chez Agricola, qui traduit:

sub moderatoribus, qui ex Areopagi delecti consilio, praesunt iuventuti,
tandis que chez Ficin on lit:

sub morum censoribus consilioque Ariopagitarum electis.

Dans l'ensemble on peut constater néanmoins qu'Agricola a voulu rester aussi proche que possible du texte grec, par la recherche de l'équivalent précis, par une traduction scrupuleuse des particules, par l'emploi des mêmes cas, des mêmes temps, du même ordre des mots et des mêmes conjonctions.

De plus, il est le premier à traduire les vers de l'*Iliade* et de l'*Odyssée* d'Homère, ainsi qu'un fragment d'Euripide, cités par l'auteur anonyme dans l'*Axiochos*, en vers latins. Les quelques recherches que j'ai pu mener à ce sujet indiquent qu'Agricola n'a pas repris une traduction antérieure, mais qu'il s'est efforcé de les traduire lui-même.

Agricola enfin est beaucoup plus attentif que des traducteurs comme Marsile Ficin par exemple au rythme, aux sons et aux autres moyens stylistiques comme les allitérations ou les chiasmes.

Nous pouvons nous demander si ces qualités ont été décisives pour le remplacement de la version ficienienne par celle d'Agricola dans la traduction latine des oeuvres de Platon.

Quoi qu'il en soit, grâce à cette insertion, l'*Axiochos* d'Agricola connaîtra encore plus de vingt éditions jusqu'au début du dix-septième siècle; elle est encore reprise dans la fameuse édition de Zweibrücken (vol. 11, 1787) et elle a même laissé des traces dans la nouvelle traduction latine des oeuvres de Platon, faite pour la collection Didot par C.E.Ch. Schneider (Paris, 1862).

A.J. VANDERJAGT

RUDOLPH AGRICOLA ON ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHY

It has been said that the history of philosophy in the Low Countries commences with the work of Rudolph Agricola.¹ A statement of this kind quite suddenly and unsuspectedly makes Agricola's writings of some considerable importance to contemporary, more systematically inclined philosophers in Belgium and the Netherlands for it can be cogently argued that achievements in philosophy are in the final analysis judged in terms of the achievements of the history of philosophy.² In other words, the solutions which contemporary philosophers seek for philosophical problems are to be measured in terms of the solutions given to similar problems by Agricola. One can well imagine the consternation to which this argument gives rise among philosophical colleagues: after all, most of Agricola's work is virtually inaccessible to them. It is written in difficult Latin; besides, there are no critical editions available of the largest part of his writings. This in fact means that an important measure for the progress of philosophy in the Low Countries and also in wider perspective cannot be used. Perhaps our Conference can inspire people to do the nitty-gritty philological work in which most philosophers are not trained.

By analogy with what has been said about the relationship between contemporary philosophy and Agricola, Agricola's ideas must be measured against those of his predecessors in order to understand his own importance. An examination of Agricola's views on ancient and medieval philosophy can give some idea of what he considered to be his own achievement. This paper will first briefly indicate Agricola's definition of philosophy. The latter part will discuss in two sections some of his attitudes to ancient and medieval philosophy and philosophers. For those who may be disturbed about this dual distinction, I hasten to add that each of these parts will give three different instances.³

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¹ Van Berkel, 'De filosofie der lage landen begint bij Agricola'.

² MacIntyre, 'The relationship of philosophy to its past', 47.

³ A number of papers read earlier had followed Agricola's own predisposition and given a tripartite division of their material; this gave rise to some friendly bantering. See for example Dr. Mack's paper in this volume.

I

Agricola's work contains no deep philosophical reflection on the essence of things in reality nor about their epistemological status.⁴ Neither does he concern himself with thoughts about the essence of man, which is not to say that he does not have a philosophical anthropology. In this light it is hardly surprising that post-Kantian philosophical historiography has seen fit not to remember him. If I am correct probably the last important mention of Agricola as a philosopher in a history of philosophy is by Jacob Brucker in his eighteenth-century *magnum opus*, which, incidentally, is the first publication in the history of philosophy which is not purely doxographical.⁵ Especially after Kant, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, philosophy has emphasized epistemology, that is to say: theory of knowledge. Agricola's lack of interest in epistemological questions does not mean that he denies that the acquisition of knowledge is an important aspect of intellectual activity. Neither does it mean that he is not interested in the modes of this acquisition. Central to his mind, however, is the idea that the practicability of the results of scholarly and scientific work is of the greatest importance. And a corollary to this thought is that for him in the end only that knowledge has real significance which can be used for the ethical and political education or *Bildung* of people, or at least of the people of his own class and standing.⁶ A clear and succinct statement which must be interpreted in this light can be found in the life which Agricola wrote of Petrarch: 'Hominis magis proprium nihil videri potest quam hominem nosse' (Nothing appears to be more appropriate to man than to know man).⁷ Of course, this is an echo of the Delphic adage γνῶθι σαύτον (Know thyself). More cynical observers will note that a knowledge of man is necessary in order to manipulate man; and Agricola was in the position to do just that more than once, for instance as *secretarius* of the city of Groningen. However this may be, philosophy for Agricola is quite different from what most philosophers today would call philosophy. He does not regard philosophy as a kind of manual with methodological and logical instructions

⁴ For a longer discussion of the following points see my 'Rodolphus Agricola Groningenensis (1444-1485), filosoof'.

⁵ Brucker, *Historia critica philosophiae* IV:1, 35-39, 272.

⁶ Martines, *Power and Imagination*, has pointed out that many of the 'democratic', 'civil' concerns of humanists served only to enhance and strengthen their own positions.

⁷ Agricola, *Vita Petrarchae*: Lindeboom, 'Petrarca's leven', 99. For a lively discussion of Agricola's life of Petrarch in connection with the *vita* written of himself see Akkerman, 'Rudolf Agricola, een humanistenleven'. It may be assumed that Agricola's high praise of Petrarch's ethico-political ideas is a reflection of his own ideas on the subject and not necessarily 'biographical truth'.

which stipulate the conditions under which the sciences and the arts must work; neither is it the science of the foundations of knowledge or of the ontological status of things in the sense of Aristotelian metaphysics. Philosophy, rather, is a synonym for the *studia humanitatis*. Thus philosophy, according to his *Oratio in laudem philosophiae*, must not be limited to dialectics or to logic, which present us with the rules of argumentation and persuasion; nor is it a kind of meta-science. Rather, it comprises three distinctive disciplines in the stoic sense: logic, natural science ('physics') and ethics (including politics).⁸ And each of these subjects is relevant only in so far as it is suitable for the education of people. This kind of education does not seek to obtain *certitude* for statements about reality or about the world as we perceive it ordinarily; it attempts to teach people how to formulate judgements about things *probabile aptumque*.⁹ Only very little of our knowledge, says Agricola, is certain and unchangeable, and this knowledge concerns only the eternal laws of nature which will not alter by virtue of the fact that we know them nor will that knowledge change us.¹⁰ Agricola's philosophy and its method applies to

⁸ Agricola, *In laudem philosophiae*, ed. Rupprich, 172-173 (=Alardus II, 150-151):

Quum sint autem tria praecipue in homine, quibus reliquo animantium generi praestet: unum, quo cognoscit omnia et naturam cuiusque perquirit; alterum, quo actiones suas vitaeque ordinem instituit ac format; tertium, quo profert pronuntiatque ea, quae cogitavit, et, ut suis singula verbis notemus, intellectus quo cognoscit, ratio qua consultit, sermo quo eloquitur, tres proinde suam cuiilibet parti philosophia adhibuit disciplinas, quarum quae ad loquendum pertinet, Graeci logicen, nostri rationalem, quae vitam instituit, illi ethicen, nos moralem, quae rerum naturas considerat, nos naturalem, illi physicen nominaverunt.

⁹ Agricola, DID (1539) I, 1 (p. 2, lines 6-28):

Cum vero nulli dubiae rei queat ex se constare fides, sed ex alijs quibusdam notioribus atque magis exploratis de unoquoque certitudinem colligamus necesse sit: iamque alij mentis acumine freti, uberioris expeditiusque argumentum, id est (ut inquit Cicero) probabile inventum ad faciendam fidem excogitent: alij contra hebetiore mentis vi, ad rerum obtutum caligent, et vel nihil, vel sero quid quaque de re dici possit, invenire queant: utilissimum videntur fecisse, qui sedes quasdam argumentorum (quos locos dixerunt) excogitavere: quorum admonitu, velut signis quibusdam, circumferremus per ipsas res animum, et quid esset in unaquaque *probabile aptumque* (italics: aj) instituto orationis nostrae perspiceremus. Utilem autem esse hanc locorum rationem apparat, cum magnae parti humanorum studiorum (quandoquidem pleraeque in ambiguo haerent, et dissentientium certaminibus sunt exposita. Exigua enim portio eorum quae discimus, certa et immota est, adeoque si Academiae credimus, *hoc solum scimus, quod nihil scimus* (italics: aj). Certe pleraque pro cuiusque ingenio, ut accommodatissime ad probandum quisque excogitare potuerit, alio atque alio trahuntur) tum vero eis praecipue confert, qui tractant illa, quorum nullae traditae sunt artes, dico: qui consilio Rempublicam gubernant: quos de pace, bello, caeterisque civitatis negotiis in rem praesentum, saepe senatui, saepe populo fidem facere oportet... etc. Cf. DID (1539) II, 6 (p. 207, lines 9-14).

¹⁰ Agricola, *In laudem philosophiae*, ed. Rupprich, 178 (=Alardus II, 155):

Coelum enim terrasque legibus semel acceptis semper stare, nihilque nostrae indigere curae, longamque illorum inquisitionem parum nobis, illis nihil prodesse...

practical, everyday life in which certitude is a scarce and, indeed, unnecessary product.

This idea of philosophy can be clarified by briefly examining what Agricola has to say about the three constituent parts into which he divides the *studia humanitatis*: logic, natural sciences and ethics. Agricola posits the term *sermo* as the central concern of logic.¹¹ It is through *sermo* that philosophy and philosophical insight can be communicated. Already the choice of the word *sermo* is significant for it places Agricola's ideas squarely in the early *Quattrocento* tradition of Leonardo Bruni Aretino and the Guarinos. In their conception grammar, dialectics and rhetoric are organically interconnected to form a practical method which is useful for the invention and communication to others of values of classical education and contemporary experience with nature and culture. In fact, logic or *sermo* is here nothing more nor less than the dialectical, pedagogic method of *Bildung* or education. The very first page of *De inventione dialectica* in this respect carries his programme.¹² *Oratio* is a special gift from God to human beings which enables them to express their knowledge and to perform their obligations to one another.

A similar intention is voiced by Agricola in his remarks on the status and the place of the natural sciences.¹³ The most important term here is *intellectus*, which is to say, the faculty of man which affords him knowledge. But this knowledge is not the final goal of physics; the final end of its constitutive parts (medicine, mathematics, theology) is not knowledge as such but its practical application to human use.¹⁴ A *ratio necessitatis* forces people to leave aside those things and that knowledge which has no practical use; instead, this reason points out those things without which people cannot well live.¹⁵ On this account Agricola names

¹¹ See the text of Note 8. It must be noted that the specific concern of logic is *oratio*, which is a special form of *sermo*; cf. Agricola, DID (1539) I, 1.

¹² Agricola, DID (1539) I, 1 (p. 1, lines 10-13).

¹³ See the text of Note 8.

¹⁴ Agricola, *In laudem philosophiae*, ed. Rupprich, 175-176 (= Alardus II, 153); Agricola says the following in the context of medicine, but it would seem to hold true for the whole of physics of which medicine is a part: Tanta tamque incredibili diligentia ingenioque herbarum, arborum, lapidum, metallorum animantiumque omnium proprietatem scrutata est et omnem omnium partium vim efficaciamque quaesivit, ausaque cura sua in altissima se maria demergere, intimos terrae retegere sinus, vastissimis inerrare silvis, inaccessos montium erepere vertices, extremas terrarum metas peragrare, ut nihil, quod usquam gigneretur, relinquere ignotum, penetravit aperuitque cuncta totamque rerum naturam *non cognitioni solum, sed servituti quoque et usibus exhibuit humanis* (italics, aj), ut vel hinc maxime credere libeat divinum quiddam homine maius inesse homini, quando nullus mortalis labor tantae rei suffecturus videbatur.

¹⁵ Agricola, *In laudem philosophiae*, ed. Rupprich, 178 (= Alardus II, 155): ... componere autem vitam et actiones ad praescriptum instituere virtutis, hoc ad nos pertinere, nec quicquam tam hominis esse proprium, quam res humanas pervidere. Inde praecipuum

medicine as the first subject of the natural sciences. Physical subjects have use and make sense only if they can be adapted for the *bene vivere*. Most parts of physics can indeed be put to such use. One part of physics, however, worries Agricola. Remarkably enough this is theology. Agricola defines theology as the study of the divine power which continuously directs the world through eternal, unchanging laws.¹⁶ But he had only just stipulated that the study of such laws neither changes them nor profits humanity. In other words, with his definition of theology, it threatened to lose three things: its status as a science, its status as knowledge and also its usefulness to mankind. Agricola, however, as an excellent rhetorician, saves himself through a kind of oratorical quietude. He recalls the problem of Timanthes of Cythnos in the fourth century before Christ who attempted to portray Agamemnon's grief over the death of Iphigeneia. This grief was so intense that he was unable to express it in his painting; he was therefore forced to shroud Agamemnon's face with a veil. Thus also Agricola: only with pious muteness can one amaze oneself about God's majesty. Nothing further can be said about natural theology.

The third part of philosophy is *philosophia moralis* or ethics.¹⁷ The term which Agricola reserves for moral science is *ratio*. Human reason knows how to choose the mean, the middle between two extremes. Thus ethics (including politics) is the most important part of philosophy because it establishes, arranges and balances individual and social life.

Logic, the natural sciences and ethics are the contents of the *studia humanitatis*. This synonym of philosophy teaches rhetoric and eloquence; it teaches also the rules by which the commonwealth is to be governed and it is the fount of many other beautiful things, 'sed reliqua etiam', says Agricola.¹⁸ Let us take stock of Agricola's idea of philosophy before we continue with a discussion of his views with regard to ancient and medieval philosophy. Two things especially have become clear. The first is that philosophy, for Agricola, is a practicable science which in a pedagogic sense can be used for education. Put in a modern, philosophical context: Agricola's ideas coincide remarkably with those voiced

quoque ductam Socratis laudem, quod primus evocatam coelo Philosophiam in urbibus atque in hominum coetu collokarit. Et fatendum sane est, si necessitatis sequimur rationem, istius partis praecipuam nobis esse curam habendam in vita, sine qua bene prorsus vivere nequimus et reliqua magis ad voluptatem animi nostri quam usum pertinere; sed ita tamen necessaria quoque, quod sine cognitione ipsorum nequaquam quae de moribus praecipiuntur aut ostendi satis aut percipi possint.

¹⁶ Agricola, *In laudem philosophiae*, ed. Rupprich, 177 (=Alardus II, 155).

¹⁷ Agricola, *In laudem philosophiae*, ed. Rupprich, 178-179 (=Alardus II, 155-156); see also Note 8 above.

¹⁸ Agricola, *In laudem philosophiae*, ed. Rupprich, 179 (=Alardus II, 156).

in contemporary hermeneutics, especially in the work of Hans-Georg Gadamer in connection with *Bildung*.¹⁹ They fit in well, too, with the philosophy of Richard Rorty as formulated in his *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature*.²⁰ Epistemology is not the only way of doing philosophy. The second point concerns Agricola's philosophical attitude towards language. Language in its rhetorical aspects (= *oratio*) stands central. In other words: a most important part of philosophy is the art of persuasion. This should not be surprising because pedagogics and *Bildung* are the whole object of the exercise. In this respect, Agricola's ideas parallel to a large degree those of Ch. Perelman and L. Obrechts-Tyteca today.²¹

These two aspects, then, of Agricola's philosophy – *Bildung* and *persuasion* – can be used as touching stones for his ideas on ancient and medieval philosophy. Naturally enough, much of what will be said here is tentative because a great deal of work has yet to be done on Agricola's sources and his library.

II

Melanchthon tells us that Agricola wrote some kind of epitome of world history which since then apparently has been lost.²² There is no record that he did the same for the history of philosophy; this is not to say that he did not have a reasonable knowledge of Greek and of Greek philosophical texts.²³

Now, a study of the history of philosophy and of philosophical reflection usually needs more than just a quick perusal of texts as one is passing through a town or as one is rushing to a library between organ recitals or political duties. Some of Agricola's ideas on the history of philosophy, however, can be gleaned from putting together in the way of a jigsaw puzzle the remarks which he makes in his works about his philosophical predecessors and by examining the books which, we are told, he carried almost continuously with him. 'Something of Plato's',

¹⁹ Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode. Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik*. Like Agricola, Gadamer closely connects education and thought with the use of language; see especially his essay 'Jusqu'à quel point la langue préforme-t-elle la pensée?'.
²⁰ Rorty, *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature*.

²¹ Perelman, Obrechts-Tyteca, *Traité de l'argumentation – La nouvelle rhétorique*.
²² For the Latin text of Melanchthon's remark see Note 8 to Professor Kessler's paper in this volume; cf. Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola (Roelof Huusman)*; see also Spitz, 'Agricola, Father of Humanism', 33.

²³ See Professor IJsewijn's paper in this volume.

²⁴ Cf. Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 232.

²⁵ For stoicism in the medieval tradition: Verbeke, *The Presence of Stoicism in Medieval Thought*.

says Geldenhouwer, 'Cicero, Quintilian, but in the very first place Pliny the Younger's letters and Pliny the Elder's *Historia naturalis*, which he hardly ever left out of his lap'.²⁴

With regard to ancient philosophy, allow me to enumerate Agricola's attitude to three of its exponents: the Sophists, Socrates and Aristotle. I leave aside here the stoic-moralistic *basso continuo* in his work, which is common to many non-metaphysical writers in particular of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.²⁵

Against chronology, first Socrates must be treated because Agricola sees in him the philosopher *par excellence*. This high regard for Socrates does not lie, as one might expect, in the so-called majeutical method of question and answer with no definitive conclusion or final certitude. Socrates is important to Agricola because he brought philosophy down from the heavens for practical, everyday usage by human beings.²⁶ It is Cicero whom Agricola is echoing here.²⁷ Socrates taught men to reflect upon themselves and their ways of doing things. Agricola believes that he is reiterating in his work the philosophical attitude of Socrates. Philosophy in this frame of mind has little to do with epistemology or philosophy of science. Philosophy in this socratic context means the study of man in his ethical and political situation.

Secondly, Agricola reserves an important place in philosophy for the Sophists, the rhetoricians of Antiquity. From what has been said it will be clear why he mentions people like Hippias, Prodigos, Protagoras and Gorgias.²⁸ Like the Sophists, Agricola was interested in the function and the usage of rhetoric and in methods of linguistic persuasion. The Sophists, says Agricola, can speak extensively on every possible topic because they have a special rhetorical method which allows them to make common knowledge communicable.²⁹ Thus Socrates is an example for *philosophia moralis* or ethics and the sophistic movement is regarded by Agricola as a paradigm of *philosophia rationalis* or dialectic.

Aristotle, Theophrast and Pliny the Elder are his examples for *philosophia naturalis* or the natural sciences.³⁰ The objects of natural philosophy for Agricola are not the essences of things. The key-phrase in his ideas on knowledge of the external world is *res ipsae*, the things themselves, that is to say: the individual things of this world as they

²⁴ Agricola, *In laudem philosophiae*, ed. Rupprich, 178 (= Alardus II, 155).

²⁵ Cicero, *Academica posteriora* I, 4, 15.

²⁶ Agricola, *Ep. 38 (De formando studio)* in Alardus II, p. 199, lines 24-34.

²⁷ Agricola, *Ep. 38 (Def.st.)* in Alardus II, p. 199, lines 22-24.

²⁸ Agricola, *Ep. 38 (Def.st.)* in Alardus II, p. 195, lines 27-28.

appear to you and to me.³¹ The good philosopher stands in the middle of the world and looks around in amazement because of the great variety of different phenomena. Here, also, Agricola shows himself a good student of Petrarch's. It is with good cause, then, that Agricola has the greatest possible admiration for the works on natural philosophy which Aristotle, Theophrast and Pliny wrote to contain their encyclopedic enumerations of whatever there is in reality. This multitudinity of things is so great that Agricola is sure that it is impossible to ever know all their ins and outs. For this reason a system of places, *topoi* or *loci*, has to be developed. Agricola takes it upon himself to do just that. His system makes it possible to discuss *commode*, properly, the variety of nature;³² then, too, conclusions can be reached by the rhetorical *inventio* and the use of the *tertium comparationis* which is necessary for any scientific proof.³³ These conclusions, however, tell us nothing about the essence of things but only about the way in which things are related to each other or how they can be conveniently listed for future reference whenever that may be useful. We must continue to bear in mind, says Agricola, that all the conclusions which we reach about nature in this fashion should be regarded in no other way than *probabile aptumque*.³⁴ Agricola seems to have little interest in the ontological or metaphysical aspects of the work of Plato or Aristotle.

Already I seem to be making an assessment of the achievement which Agricola reached in his own eyes. But first a few brief remarks must be made about three examples of medieval philosophy which he explicitly mentions.

First and foremost he is critical of the schoolmen, the scholastics, often without mentioning their names. It is obvious from the context that his criticism pertains to Thomists, Albertists, nominalists and terminists alike. His most important criticism no doubt is that the unworldly,

³¹ Agricola, *Ep. 38 (Def.st.)* in Alardus II, p. 195: sed res ipsas attingendas censuerim. Iam terrarum, marium, montium ... iam arborum herbarumque ... Quid dicam, quae de re rustica tractata sunt? quid, quae de medicina? alius rem militarem, alius architecturam etc.

³² Agricola, *Ep. 38 (Def.st.)* in Alardus II, p. 196, line 1.

³³ Agricola, DID (1539) I, 2 (p. 8, lines 8-17):

Si qua duo itaque velis perspicere convenient inter se necne, si sint eiusmodi, ut quemadmodum magnitudines diximus applicari non posse, sic et ista consentanea sint an dissidentia, ex ipsis perspici nequeat: necesse est tertium aliquod invenias, quod alteri horum consentaneum esse certius sit: idque alteri deinde comparatum, proinde ut ille fuerit consentaneum vel dissidenteum, ita esse inter se ambo, quae proposita fuerant, sciamus. Id tertium, tum medium argumentationis dicitur: quoniam proposita velut extrema duo coniungit: tum quia probabiliter propositis iungitur, instrumentumque est facienda de illis fidei, vocatur argumentum.

³⁴ Agricola, DID (1539) I, 1 (p. 2, lines 6-28); see also II, 6 (p. 207, lines 9-14).

academic method of the scholastics makes it impossible for the dialectic of Quintilian to do its healing job of uniting that which belongs together. There is in scholastic philosophy no connection with real things, only with the figments of the scholarly imagination. The upshot of this is that the individual practical sciences have been estranged from their foundations precisely because scholastic points of interest are far-removed from what is important for everyday social life and for personal ethics. The late-medieval emancipation of the practical and natural sciences from philosophy should be regretted, not because attention is being given to everyday experience and to the *res ipsae* but because soon they will no longer be able to understand each other: their individual methods and languages will have moved too far apart. Not surprisingly Agricola seeks to find a single rhetorical method which can be used by all the sciences, as long as they concern themselves with what is really there (the *res ipsae*) and what can be put into the practice of ethical and social *Bildung*. This disdain of Agricola for the unrealistic basis of essentialism and for the constant cavilling of the different schools on fruitless topics is paralleled by his exasperation with the *ars magna* of Raymundus Lullus, the Spanish Christian platonist.³⁵ This art, which purports to be a scientific method useful for discovering nature and unifying knowledge, is so complicated and has so many individual figures and *res* that no method can lead the questions which are asked within that system to a coherent and consistent answer which satisfies Agricola.

In connection with the history of ancient philosophy we have seen the way in which Agricola's sympathies and interpretations run parallel to his own ideas of *Bildung* and rhetorical method. In the context of medieval philosophy we might discuss his sceptical attitude with regard to philosophical truth. Dr Jardine has written on this theme in a number of places, so it is not imperative to detail Agricola's argument here.³⁶ Suffice it to say that in his work no epistemological choice can be distinguished between realism on the one hand and nominalism, terminism or scepticism on the other. Like many other humanists in the fifteenth century he is, ontologically speaking, clearly a realist; this kind of realism, however, is at least partly a reaction against the 'barbarous' language of medieval debates on the status of universals. In other words, this realism is a kind of common-sense realism.³⁷ Agricola quite emphatically states that the knowledge which can be achieved of the *res ipsae* on

³⁵ Agricola, DID (1539) II, 1 (pp. 181-182).

³⁶ Jardine, *Francis Bacon*, especially 'Chapter One: Dialectic and Method'; 'Lorenzo Valla', especially 256-261.

³⁷ Cf. the contribution of Professor Braakhuis to this volume.

the correct application of his theory of the topics is never anything more than *probabile aptumque*. This is not to say that there is any doubt in the Kantian sense as to the possibility of stating that things exist or not. Rather, the phrase *probabile aptumque* means something like saying that it is not absolutely certain in which way the knowledge of the *res ipsae* and the language in which they are described may best be applied for the sake of practical, human usage. Agricola's topical system, which categorizes the things of reality, provides the necessary coherence to knowledge and to the terms that express it. In this sense, Agricola's point of view is not wide off the mark of Paul Ziff's *Epistemic Analysis*, which sees the acquisition of knowledge as an increase in the coherence of propositions. There is also common ground with the chapter 'Meaningful and Meaningless' in Barry Stroud's *The Significance of Philosophical Scepticism*.³⁸ Agricola, Ziff and Stroud are each dubious about the possibility of absolute truth with regard to statements about the world.

Where then is my third example of Agricola and medieval philosophy? It is an example which we can only surmise but which may show us another dimension of Agricola's thought, albeit one about which he has left us no material in writing. Lindeboom in his famous book on biblical humanism is rather cold about Agricola's religious attitudes; he seems to be quite right in that estimation.³⁹ However, we do know that towards the end of his life Agricola was working on a Latin translation of the pseudo-Dionysius.⁴⁰ Does this point to a certain fideism, which in the sixteenth century is often found in thinkers who, like Agricola, accentuate *Bildung*, rhetorical method and scepticism with regard to the uses and possibilities of knowledge? I am thinking of men like Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola, Jean Calvin and Michel de Montaigne.

What then of Agricola's achievement in his own eyes? and in ours? Agricola's view of his own work is more than clear, especially from the programme of *De inventione dialectica* and from the clear *parti pris* which he shows with regard to the philosophers before him whom we mentioned. He intended once and for all to give rules for valid human communication. In this sense, Agricola's idea of his own achievement is self-assured. This assurance shows him to be the true humanist that he was. His achievement in twentieth-century philosophical eyes possibly depends largely on the way in which one chooses sides in debates of a hermeneutical kind and in discussions on truth and validity in the philosophy of science. Given this, Agricola's views may well soon be fashionable again.

³⁸ Ziff, *Epistemic Analysis*; Stroud, *The Significance of Philosophical Scepticism*.

³⁹ Lindeboom, *Het bijbelsch humanisme in Nederland*, 61-64.

⁴⁰ Trithemius mentions Agricola's plan in his short *vita*: Dionysii Areopagitae volumina traducere incipiens, morte immatura praeventus, imperfecta reliquit, 'Vita Rodolphi', xiv.

ARI WESSELING

AGRICOLA AND WORD EXPLANATION

Erasmus, who extols Agricola in his *Adagia*, proudly reminds his readers that his own teacher Alexander Hegius had been a pupil of Agricola.¹ This relationship between Hegius and Agricola, who was at least four years his junior, was confirmed by Hegius himself: if we may believe Agricola's biographer Gerard Geldenhouwer, Hegius confessed that he owed his knowledge of Latin and Greek to Agricola, whom he had met when he (Hegius) was forty years old.² Whatever the historical value of this testimony, the influence exercised by Agricola on the older Hegius is strikingly illustrated by an elaborate letter from Groningen on 20 September 1480.³ In it Agricola informs Hegius on the meaning and derivation of a number of Latin words that his friend had submitted to him in a letter which has not as yet been found. Hegius, a native of Westphalia, was connected with a school in Emmerich at the time.⁴ Agricola offers more than his correspondent could expect; he also points out five errors in Hegius's Latin and kindly corrects them.

This letter is interesting because it is addressed to an influential schoolmaster and early representative of Northern humanism. It is the earliest extant document of the friendship between the two humanists. More important, it reveals Agricola's knowledge of Latin vocabulary and his view on the use of neologisms and loan-words. Agricola wrote it about one year after his stay in Italy,⁵ which had been so crucial for his cultural formation, as he testifies at the beginning of his letter.

In this paper I intend to discuss Agricola's answers to a number of interrelated questions. It seems convenient to start with the problem of word formation, more precisely whether in using the Latin language neologisms should be allowed or not. Agricola states his position as follows: 'Concerning the method by which words are derived and compounded through analogy I would hardly permit myself to make up any word that I have not found in the classical authors. It is a complex

I am grateful to Dr. Akkerman for his careful scrutiny of my paper: it has benefitted greatly from his suggestions. I would like to thank David Ireland for correcting my English.

¹ *Adag.* I 1, 39, Erasmus, LB II, col. 167.

² Cf. Worstbroek, 'Zur Biographie des Alexander Hegius', 165.

³ *Ep.* 21 (Alardus II, pp. 187-191; cf. Allen, 'The letters of Rudolph Agricola', 312).

⁴ Cf. Allen, *ibid.*

⁵ Agricola left Italy in the summer of 1479, cf. Allen, *ibid.*, *sub Ep.* 16.

and multifarious matter, about which no positive precept can be given and in which I do not venture anything, unless it cannot possibly be avoided to denote obscure things by using new terms, as Horace says.⁶ He thus approves of the programme which Lorenzo Valla († 1457) had laid down in the *Elegantiae*. In this truly humanistic manual for the correct usage of Latin, Valla summons the world of scholarship to recover the language of Roman antiquity. To achieve this, he recommended free and unprejudiced research of the classical authors and the purification from 'Gothic' accretions and corruptions of the degenerate Latin of his days.⁷ Although Agricola largely shares Valla's critical attitude towards neologisms, he takes up position against him on a minor issue which concerns certain neologisms which end in *-itas*, for instance *entitas*: 'I would, however, perhaps say *Socratitas*, *Platonitas*, and *entitas*, though Valla objects to that. Why should I not use these words, if necessary, as freely as Cicero, who without any necessity wrote *Appietas* and *Lentulitas*, or as Pollio who, referring to Livy's Latin, used the term *Patavinitas*?'⁸ Using the same argument and the same examples, he had vindicated the scholastic term *quiditas* in his *De inventione dialectica*.⁹

Agricola, polemicizing against Valla, had in mind a chapter of his treatise on logic.¹⁰ There Valla rejects the words in *-itas* cited above on the ground that they violate Latin grammar. Substantives ending in *-itas* all derive, he observes, from adjectives and not from substantives. Inasmuch as the neologisms *entitas* (from *ens*) and *quiditas* (from *quid*) have been formed from substantives, they are unacceptable for morphological reasons. Valla himself, anticipating objections, quotes and discusses the words *Appietas* and *Lentulitas* (i.e. 'the quality of being an Appius' or 'a Lentulus') that had been used by Cicero (*Ep. ad fam.* III 7, 5). These

⁶ *Ep. cit.*, 190 l. 14 f. De analogia derivandorum componendorumque nominum vix mihi permiseric quicquam fingere quod non apud autores invenerim. Varia multiplexque res est eaque de qua nihil praecipi perpetuum possit et in qua nihil audeam, nisi sit fortasse, ut inquit Horatius [*De arte poet.* 48-49], necesse indicis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum.

⁷ For Valla's view of *indispensable* neologisms see his *Gesta Ferdinandi regis Aragonum*, appendix, 194-206.

⁸ *Ep. cit.*, 190 l. 17 f. Tamen ego et *Socratitas* et *Platonitas* et *entitas* forte dixerim, quamvis repugnet Vallensis noster. Quidni tam libere, quum necesse sit, quam Cicero nulla necessitate *Appietatem* et *Lentulitatem* et Pollio *Patavinitatem* quandam dixit sonare T. Livium?

⁹ *De inventione dialectica*, Coloniae 1528, II 7, p. 192 (= Alardus I, p. 228) Uteremur enim et hoc verbo (*quiditas*), si nobis per grammaticos licet, quemadmodum Cicero *Lentulitatem* et *Appietatem* et Pollio *Patavinitatem* dixit. Aptus est utique eius et prope necessarius usus. Nec enim ullo alio satis commode explicare possumus τὸ τί ἔστι nisi id, ut vulgo solent, 'quod quid est' interpretari velimus, quod nec Graeci sermonis proprietatem retinet et segne planeque expers usus et intellectus sit apud nos.

¹⁰ Valla, *Repastinatio*, I 4.

words, he argues, do not derive from substantives, but from adjectives (think of *Via Appia*, while *Lentulus* is a diminutive from *lentus*). Besides, he says, Cicero used these words mockingly, thereby ridiculing the arrogant patricians.

As we have seen, Agricola borrowed the Ciceronian words he adduces against Valla's thesis from Valla's discourse, though without mentioning, let alone refuting his argument. True, Agricola cites in addition the word *Patavinitas* (Quintilian, *Inst. orat.* VIII 1, 3 and I 5, 56), but inadequately, inasmuch as he intends it to be an objection to Valla's thesis; had Valla lived to read Agricola's letter, he would have replied quite simply that *Patavinitas* derives from the adjective 'Patavinus'.

Agricola vindicates the word *entitas* and also *Platonitas*, which Valla had rejected likewise. This term had been coined by Boethius, who introduced it in one of his commentaries on Aristotelian logic to denote the individual quality proper to the substance 'Plato', thus creating a complement to the generic term *humanitas*, which describes the quality of human beings in general. Valla, however, rejected this neologism as incorrect: since *Platonitas* is derived from a proper noun, not from an adjective, it cannot denote quality.¹¹

Let us now consider Agricola's attitude towards words adopted into Latin from the vernacular. He touches briefly upon this subject on account of Hegius's question about the meaning of *leccator*. That, Agricola replies, is a Germanic word, like most of the corrupted words that have been adopted into Latin in our country, e.g. *reisa*, *burgimagister*, *scultetus*. Likewise, he adds, the words *passagium*, *guerra* and *treuga* are adoptions from France.¹² As Agricola uses the term 'corrupta' in his reply, we may assume that he condemned the introduction of vernacular loan-words into Latin.

What does Agricola mean here by a 'Germanic' word? One adopted into Latin from the languages spoken in Germania, of course, the territory which includes Germany, but also the Low Countries.¹³ I will now pass in review the Germanic words just quoted. *Leccator* is a Latinization of the substantive *lecker* (Low German also *leckerer*; Dutch also *leckere*, *leckaert*, *leckert*). The cognate verb *leckken* means 'to lick'; a *lecker* is a glutton or a parasite. It is also applied to rogues, skunks, profligates, panderers, fornicators, adulterers and suchlike 'lekkertjes', as we still say

¹¹ Valla, *Repastinatio*, I 4, 11-12. Boethius, *In librum Aristotelis De interpretatione*, ed. sec., II 7, *Patrol. Lat.* ed. Migne, vol. 64, col. 463.

¹² *Ep. cit.*, 189 l. 25 f. *Leccatoris* nomen Germanicum est, ut pleraque alia apud nos corrupta, quale est *reisa*, *burgimagister*, *scultetus*, sicut e Gallia *passagium* pro expeditione bellica, *guerram* pro bello, *treugam* pro induciis accepimus.

¹³ Cf. Erasmus, LB II, col. 166, where Agricola is called a native of 'Germania'.

today.¹⁴ In the *Teuthonista* (1475), a Dutch-Latin vocabulary by Gherard van der Schueren, some thirty equivalents are given.¹⁵ As for the Latin form *leccator*, we know from a study by Bischoff that it appears for the first time in medieval literature in the late eleventh century.¹⁶ Since it occurs too in the *Glossae Scaligeri*, a very haphazard collection which contains medieval words among other things,¹⁷ it has been included in the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*. There it is suggested that the semantic expansion of *leccator* from 'glutton' to 'parasite', 'pander' and the like may have been due to conflation with (*al*)*lectare* (= to entice, invite). This explanation, which was inspired by Svensnning,¹⁸ seems plausible enough. It can be amplified: we may assume in addition, I think, influence from the corresponding words in the vernacular like Germanic *lecker* and Italian *leccone*.¹⁹

Reisa means 'journey', but also 'military expedition' (German and Dutch *reise* or *reyse*).²⁰ *Burgimagister* is a Latinization of *bur(ger)meister* (High German), *borgermeester*, *burmeester* (Low German), *borgermeyster*, *borghmeester* (Dutch),²¹ while *scultetus* ('bailiff') derives from Low German *schulthe(i)te*, High German *schultheize*, *scultiß*, Dutch *schoutete*.²²

That Agricola should quote three loan-words from the French is not surprising, because the Burgundian domination over a large part of the Low Countries brought with it a strong French influence.²³ Incidentally, the examples he chooses all belong to the sphere of warfare. He renders

¹⁴ Cf. Schiller-Lübben, *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch*; Verwijs-Verdam, *Mittelniederlandsch woordenboek*, vol. IV, col. 350 f.; Benecke-Müller-Zarncke, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*; Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*; Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, s.v. 'lecker'; Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, s.v. 'leccator'; Niermeyer-Van de Kieft, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus*; Diefenbach, *Glossarium Latino-Germanicum mediae et infimae aetatis*; Blaise, *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, s.v. 'leccator'.

¹⁵ On the *Teuthonista* of Duytschlender cf. Weyers, 'Les glossaires latins dans les Pays-Bas médiévaux', 113-116.

¹⁶ Bischoff, 'Living with the Satirists', 91.

¹⁷ *Glossae Scaligeri*, in *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*, 602.

¹⁸ Svensnning, *Kleine Beiträge zur lateinischen Lautlehre*, 60.

¹⁹ For *leccone* cf. S. Battaglia, *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*.

²⁰ Cf. Schiller-Lübben; Verwijs-Verdam; Benecke-Müller-Zarncke; Lexer, *cit.*, s.v. 'reise'; Du Cange; Niermeyer-Van de Kieft, *cit.*, s.v. 'reisa'; Diefenbach, *cit.*, s.v. 'Equitatus'; Von Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 16. Band, s.v. 'reise'.

²¹ Cf. Köbler, *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, s.v. 'Bürgermeister'; Lasch-Borchling-Cordes, *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, s.v. 'burmeester'; Lexer, *cit.*, s.v. 'burgermeister'.

²² As in the case of the preceding words, I have given only some of the numerous variant forms. Cf. Schiller-Lübben, *cit.*, s.v. 'schulthete'; Lasch-Borchling-Cordes, *cit.*, s.v. 'schultheite'; Verwijs-Verdam, *cit.*, s.v. 'schouté'; Benecke-Müller-Zarncke, *cit.*, s.v. 'heize'; Lexer, *cit.*, s.v. 'schultheize'; Grimm, *cit.*, s.v. 'schultheisz'; Niermeyer-Van de Kieft, *cit.*, s.v. 'sculthetus'; Blaise, *cit.*, s.v. 'scultetus'.

²³ Cf. De Vooys, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse taal*, 45; Geerts, *Voorlopers en varianten van het Nederlands*, 46-48.

passagium as ‘military expedition’ (*expeditio bellica*). This connotation is not attested by the modern dictionaries of Old/Middle French or Latin, nor in Robert Estienne’s *Dictionnaire Francoislatin* (1539). Du Cange, however, quotes several texts in which *passagium* (or *passage*) means ‘crusade’. This specific use may have developed from ‘voyage or pilgrimage over the sea (usually to the Levant)’.²⁴ According to R.S. Lopez *passagium* often served as a euphemistic label to designate a crusade.²⁵ Lastly Agricola cites *guerra* and *treuga*, which means ‘truce’ (*induciae*). He probably considered it to be a Latinization of the French *treuge*, which form is attested by Von Wartburg. Variant forms are e.g. *trive*, *trieve* and *treves*.²⁶

I will now discuss Agricola’s explications of classical Latin words (p. 189). He deals first with the closely connected words *mimus*, *histrio* and *persona*. *Mimus* and *histrio* are of different origin, he observes, *viz.* Greek, resp. Etruscan. The *autores* whom he refers to are Livy and Valerius Maximus.²⁷ They differ in social status too, the *mimus* being lower than the *histrio*, although, he adds, Juvenal calls a pantomime player a *histrio* (*Sat.* 7, 90). He asserts *persona* to derive from *personare* (‘to sound through’), a famous but false etymology which he took from Gellius (*Noct. Att.* V 7, 1), and he gives two connotations: 1. a mask, worn by actors on the stage (a προσωπεῖον or μορφωλύκιον); 2. (conceived as a *synecdoche*:) a masked actor. To illustrate this he quotes Juvenal.²⁸ Remarkably,

²⁴ Cf. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l’ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle*, s.v. ‘Passage’; Von Wartburg, *cit.*, 7. Band, 713–714, s.v. ‘*passare’; and Greimas, *Dictionnaire de l’ancien français jusqu’au milieu du XIVe siècle*, s.v. ‘passage: voyage d’outremer, croisade’.

²⁵ Cf. Lopez, ‘Fulfillment and Diversion in the Eight Crusades’, 16.

²⁶ Cf. Von Wartburg, *cit.*, 17. Band, s.v. ‘*treuwa’; Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française du seize siècle*, s.v. ‘Treve’; Gamillscheg, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache*, s.v. ‘trêve’; Verwijs-Verdam, *cit.*, s.v. ‘*treuge’; Du Cange, *cit.*, s.v. ‘treva’; Niermeyer-Van de Kieft, *cit.*, s.v. ‘trewa’; Diefenbach; Blaise, *cit.*, s.v. ‘Treuga’. For guerra cf. Von Wartburg, *cit.*, 17. Band, s.v. ‘*werra’; Gamillscheg, *cit.*, s.v. ‘guerre’; Du Cange; Blaise, *cit.*, s.v. ‘guerra’; Niermeyer-Van de Kieft, *cit.*, s.v. ‘werra’.

²⁷ Livy, *Ab urbe condita* VII 2, 6 Vernaculis artificibus, quia ‘ister’ Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histriobus inditum. Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* II 4, 4 quia ludius apud eos (the Etruscans) ‘hister’ appellabatur, scaenico nomen histrionis inditum est.

²⁸ 189 l. 10 = *Satura* 6, 70 Personam thyrsumque tenent, et sublegat acti; read ‘subligar Acci’; the words ‘sublegat acti’, which occur as well in the previous editions of Agricola’s letter (*Rhodolfi Agricole. Paraenesis sive admonitio qua ratione studia tractanda ... una cum epistola eiusdem ad Alexandrum hegum ...*, Daventriae, Jac. van Breda, 1508, and *Opuscula*, Antuerpiae, T. Martens, 1511), are simply due to printing errors, as Dr Akkerman suggests. 189 l. 13 = *Sat.* 3, 96 Est mulier, nempe ipsa videtur, non persona loqui. Here Alardus of Amsterdam, who was responsible for the *Lucubrationes*-edition, made a mistake. ‘Est’ does not belong to the quotation, but goes with the preceding ‘ut’ (... ut est: Mulier etc.). The same use of ‘ut est’ occurs in l. 10, where it likewise introduces a quotation.

Agricola does not use Valla's *Elegantiae*. That influential textbook, the first version of which had already been published before the middle of the century, contains chapters on *histrio et mimus*, on *persona* and another one on *scurra et parasitus* (IV 31, VI 34 and IV 51). Agricola obviously did not have a copy of it at his disposal when he composed this letter to Hegius. The main source from which he draws his examples is Juvenal.

Scurra, he continues (1. 13 f.), means the same as *parasitus*; the only difference is that the latter word, deriving from παρόδασιτάσθαι (read παρασιτεῖσθαι, 'to board and lodge with someone') had originally a more honourable meaning, whereas the *scurra* owes his name to his free and licentious tongue. Here (1. 16) he may have had in mind a passage from *De oratore* (II 60, 247), in which Cicero censures the *dicacitas* of the *scurra*. Again Agricola draws on Juvenal (*Sat.* 5, 143-5 and 8, 189-91). In explanation of *nebulo* he quotes *Sat.* 14, 8-9, where it denotes a worthless or spendthrift person, and he gives a paraphrase of Gellius, *Noct. Att.* I 2, 7 (on charlatans).²⁹

With regard to the word *nepos* (1.24) he quotes its equivalent ἄσωτος ('spendthrift, profligate') and derives it from 'non potens gulæ' ('unable to control one's throat'). An equally amusing etymology occurs in a letter to Barbireau, where he explains the German name Bacharach to be a corruption of *Bacchi aerae* (this was, by the way, the conventional Latin name of the village³⁰). The Ancients, he says, considered the place sacred to Bacchus on account of its excellent Rhine wine.³¹ Such fanciful etymological explanations were quite common among the humanists. At the end of the sixteenth century even a scholar like Lipsius derived the name of the Eternal City from the Germanic word *roem* ('glory'); if not accepted, this explication was at least recorded by the famous lexicographer Kiliaan.³²

I would like to conclude with Agricola's view of the origin of the word *man*. To Hegius's question about the derivation of ἄνθρωπος Agricola replies: 'That question is as absurd as wondering about the derivation of our word *man*; originally people cared first of all about giving a name to themselves before naming anything else, of course.' He intends to say, I

²⁹ This passage in the *Noctes Atticae* was identified by Dr Akkerman.

³⁰ Cf. Graesse, Benedict, Plechl, *Orbis Latinus*, s.n. 'Bacharacum'. Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae sive dictionarium Teutono-Latinum*, 727 s.n. 'Barcharach: Arae Bacchi, oppidum Germaniae nobilitate vini celebre'.

³¹ Ep. 29, in *Lucubrationes*, cit., 206 oppidum quod vulgus Baccarachum vocat ego, quia primae nobilitatis vinum Rhenense illic provenit, ob hoc velut Baccho sacrum 'Bacchi aras' veteres id vocasse puto.

³² Cf. *De vierde Kiliaan*, ed. by F. Claes, 's-Gravenhage 1981, 51-2, where the editor refers to Lipsius, *Admiranda sive De magnitudine Romana*, Antwerpen 1605, 17.

think, that in every language words denoting man are primary and therefore not derived. Nevertheless, to satisfy his friend, he records three current etymological explanations though rejecting them as products of invention: ἀνθρώπος is derived from the prefix ἀν- plus the verb τρέπω, ξηρω or τρέψω.³³

³³ *Ep. cit.*, 1891. 27 f. ἀνθρώπου nomen unde ducatur apud Graecos aequi inceptum puto quaerere quam apud nos unde *hominis*, quasi ullius rei nominandae debeat hominibus antiquior fuisse cura quam sui ipsorum, sive ab ἀνὰ καὶ τρέπω, sive, ut alii, ξηρω, κατὰ μετάθεσιν τοῦ sive τρέψω dici quis velit, ingenii magis quam veritatis opus crediderim, quocumque modo dicatur. I do not know how the parenthesis κατὰ μετάθεσιν τοῦ, which is clearly incomplete, should be interpreted.

PART FOUR

RHETORIC AND DIALECTICS

H.A.G. BRAAKHUIS

AGRICOLA'S VIEW ON UNIVERSALS

In the first instance, a discussion of Agricola's view on universals may not appear a very obvious choice on the occasion of his commemoration. It may even cause some surprise. The wide influence of Agricola's main work, *De inventione dialectica*, as well as the place assigned to the works of Agricola in the history of philosophy and even of culture in general, is usually related to the aspect of the *inventio* as emphasized in both *De inventione* and its source of inspiration Valla's *Dialecticae disputationes*. This aspect is concerned, as is known, with the way in which arguments may be found to convince other people or to have something accepted. This is usually connected with the growing interest in method during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹ Now, both the importance attached to invention and the theory of the *loci*, combined with the turn rhetorical in logic in general, and the one attached to method, are usually contrasted with the typical medieval or scholastic interest in abstract, metaphysical, subjects and problems, the discussion of universals and their status being perhaps one of the most notorious examples. In this way, my subject indeed hardly seems appropriate for honouring the *humanist* Agricola.

Nevertheless, it is a fact that Agricola wrote some *quaestiones* regarding the problem of universals, whose authorship, as far as I know, has never been doubted. It is a fact, too, that he even planned to write a complete treatise on the subject, as we are informed by the editor of *De inventione*, Alard of Amsterdam.² There is furthermore the fact that this same editor considered it useful to include those *quaestiones* in the edition of *De inventione* which he prepared. Finally, we have to admit that the problem of universals, indeed, was not without importance with regard to even the kind of dialectics advocated by Agricola. One might in this respect rightly underline Alard's words that a correct view on universals is important not only with regard to the *loci* concerning genus, species, and individuals, but also to many other aspects of dialectics.³ We may thus

¹ Cfr. for this point of view the well-known works of Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, Gilbert, *Renaissance Concepts of Method*, and especially of Vasoli, *La dialettica e la retorica dell'Umanesimo*.

² See *De inventione dialectica* (1539), p. 36, lines 27-28: ita cum Rodolphus Agricola librum aliquem de universalibus instituisset conscribere, hanc futuri operis sylvulam deliniavit.

³ See *ibid.*, lines 35-41.

safely assume to be in accord with Agricola's own intentions when we pay attention to what he thought about universals. For this reason, an examination will be made here of his explicit treatment of universals.⁴ Accordingly some remarks will be made about the relevancy of his view on universals for the general tendency of Agricola's dialectics.

Agricola begins his discussion of universals by formulating two questions which in fact form a dual alternative. The first question asks whether universals are something outside the mind and its intellectual formative power. The second one asks if in this case they should be considered as different from concrete individuals.⁵

Agricola only formulates these two problems and does not repeat the famous three questions of Porphyry's *Isagoge*. This and also the wordings of the questions form an indication that for Agricola the discussion of universals should be seen against the background of a scheme of two possible answers to the problem of universals: on the one side the view that universals are something outside and independent of the human mind – this is called the realistic view on universals – and on the other the nominalistic or conceptualist view, according to which not only universals are found merely in the human mind as a product of the formative power of the intellect, but also only concrete individuals exist outside the mind.

By his presentation of the problem Agricola already seems to suggest two things. Firstly, although the word *figmentum* is sometimes used by the nominalists it is not implied that universals should be considered as only fictive, imaginative 'things'. By using the term *figmentum* they precisely indicate the formative power of the human mind, a power by means of which words (terms or concepts) may be formed, which can be used to refer to the individual realities. Agricola, however, seems to contrast by his way of presentation – especially as compared with Porphyry – on the one hand a reality (*aliquid*), independent of the human mind and on the other fictive beings. In other words, he does not seem to allow the view

⁴ This examination will be confined to the *De universalibus* found in Alard of Amsterdam's edition of *De inventione*, pp. 37-41. Dr Peter Mack kindly informed me that according to him a different text on the universals might be found in the famous Stuttgart-manuscript (= Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, *Cod. poet. et phil.*, 4° 36). Indeed, on ff. 205-209 (new numbering) a *De universalibus* by Agricola is found, which was written as an answer to a *sententia de universali singulari et uno* by the philosopher Phaselus given on ff. 203-204; this is another text than the one edited in *De inventione*. I intend to deal with the Stuttgart-treatise elsewhere.

⁵ DID (1539), p. 37: *de universalibus haec in primis solent quaeri, sintne aliquid extra animam, id est, extra cogitationem, figmentumque mentis nostrae. Deinde, si sint, an distinguantur a singularibus.*

that universals are something *sui generis* which is based exactly on the formative power of the mind. Moreover, a similar thing can be noticed with regard to the formulation of the second question. Here also a contrast seems to be made between the universals as a reality and the singular things. In this way Agricola seems to exclude again the possibility of universals being something *sui generis* while on the other hand in outside reality only singular things exist. As we will see, this suggestion indeed corresponds with Agricola's opinion on the problem of universals.

This opinion is already brought forward clearly in the definition of universals given by Agricola. In his view a universal is something which exists as an essential unity and is common to many things.⁶ The realistic character of this definition is made clear when Aristotle's formulation is called into mind, which humanist translations also frame in words like: 'predicating', or 'saying'.⁷ That formulation may eventually be interpreted, therefore, as stressing the verbal or conceptual character of a universal and not its character as a being. With regard to its realistic tendency Agricola's definition is correctly put on par with the definition given by Peter of Spain in his *Tractatus* (or *Summule*), a text well-known in the centres where Agricola studied (especially at Cologne). It should be noted, however, that Peter of Spain had at least left open the possibility of a verbal character of universals by making a distinction between a universal and a predicate.⁸ It should further be noted that the term *communicabile* used in the definition strengthens its realistic character by suggesting a priority of the universal to the singulars. The same term seems to suggest a possible connection with the realistic view of the universals as defended by the school of the so-called Albertists.⁹ This school was in fact strongly represented in Cologne and Louvain, both places where Agricola had studied.

The unity represented in this definition is further characterised as a unity of assimilation, community, or reason, such that for instance two men are one species in the sense that they have a similar species, form, or

⁶ *Ibid.*: dicimus ergo universale esse, quod unum existens per essentiam, est communicabile multis, ut animal unum esse genus dicimus, quod est in equo, in asino, in bove, in homine.

⁷ Aristoteles, *De interpr.* 17a 39-40: dico autem universale quod in pluribus natum est praedicari (see *Aristoteles Latinus*, II 1-2).

⁸ Petrus Hispanus, *Tractatus* 17, 7-11: unde 'predicabile' proprie sumptum et 'universale' idem sunt, sed differunt in hoc quod predicabile diffinitur per *dici*, universale autem per *esse*. Est enim predicabile quod aptum natum est dici de pluribus. Universale autem est quod aptum est esse in pluribus.

⁹ For the view of the Albertist school on the universals, cfr. Wlodek, 'Albert le Grand'. Cfr. also Braakhuis, 'Heymeric van de Velde'.

nature, i.e. humanity. Furthermore, the universal is restricted to a similarity in substance or essence, also called form or nature; this in contrast to similarities in the domains of quality or quantity. The universal is in this way defined as being an essential similarity of many things.¹⁰ This restriction in fact seriously undermines the validity of Agricola's views with regard to universal terms other than substantive nouns, and it again illustrates the realistic, and even essentialistic, character of Agricola's view of universals.

In contrast to this, the singular is said to be opposite of the universal. But then the problem presents itself of the singular being defined by means of a unity, just as had been the case with the universal. This brings Agricola to the distinction between two kinds of unity. The unity of singulars can be seen as a numerical unity: then there is no question of a clear opposition against the universal, since a singularity of this kind (e.g. Plato's), such natural unity, is not only found in Plato but also in every other existing thing.¹¹ The unity of the singular can also be interpreted, however, as a unity which cannot be communicated, that is, as the unity of incommunicability.¹² The communicability which is excluded here-with, is said to be the same as being of such a nature, genus, or condition, that a similar thing may be found. In this way, the humanity of a singular person, e.g. Plato, has the singularity of (numerical) unity, but not a singularity of incommunicability – since a humanity of the same nature is found also in other persons.¹³ It is, therefore, the singularity of incommunicability which is opposed to universality.

This leads Agricola to a discussion of the three ways in which things may be distinguished from each other. First, things may be diverse; in

¹⁰ DID (1539), p. 38: *nihil enim videtur aliud esse universale quam aliquid quod in substantia aut essentia alicuius est, cuius simile potest in alterius itidem essentia reperiri. ... Sique duas formas, vel naturas eiusdem rationis viderimus in subiectis duobus esse, vocamus ea unum ratione. Id quod in utrisque est eiusdem rationis existens, universale dicimus: ut sit universale nihil aliud, quam essentialis quaedam in multis (ut ita dicam) similitudo.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*: itaque hac ratione et humanitatem quae est in Platone per se acceptam, hanc humanitatem et singularem, et uno numero humanitatem dicimus. Ergo haec singularitas, et unitas naturalis, et esse hoc non videtur esse quae opponuntur universalis. Imo tam latum esse ambitum horum quam est entis et in omni ente eandem istorum inveniri rationem.

¹² *Ibid.*: sic Platonem dicimus singularem hominem, quoniam proprietas illa substantialis qua Plato ab omnibus hominibus, qui sunt, fuerunt, erunt, differt eiusmodi est, ut ei nulla alia possit similis inveniri, idcirco incommunicabilem eam dicimus.

¹³ *Ibid.*: non enim communicabilitatem aliud dicimus esse quam esse eius naturae, aut generis, aut habitudines, ut possit aliquid quod ei simile sit, reperiri; humanitas ergo quae est in Platone, singularis quidem est unitate, nequaquam vero incommunicabilitate... non incommunicabilitate, quia eiusdem rationis vel naturae invenitur in Socrate, in Critone.

this case it is true that one thing is not another. Secondly, things may be different; here one thing is not only not another, but it also has a certain property or notion through which it is distinguished from another thing. Thirdly, things may be discrete; one thing is not only different from another, but each of them also has a separate existence of its own. Now, Agricola points out that two substances, e.g. Socrates and Plato, are not only distinguished from each other in accordance with the third way, but also with the second one and the first.¹⁴ Agricola explains this by giving a piece of cloth as an example: the whole piece is white; the two halves are diverse from each other because one white part is not the other. After one half has been painted black, the two halves are not only diverse but also different, while they were discrete when the two halves had been torn from each other.

To Agricola's mind the above is so evident that it is in fact useless to ask whether there exists something universal outside the mind. Only a blind man, indeed, would not be able to see that Socrates, Plato etc. are men and that, in so far as they are men, they have essentially the same reason, that is, are similar.

As a decisive reason for accepting the reality of universals outside the mind Agricola considers the fact that all arts and all kinds of science are distinct from each other even without any activity of the mind. The basis for this fact is that the distinctions between the sciences are based on the distinctions found in reality.¹⁵ Here Agricola leaves no doubt whatsoever that he takes sides against the nominalists or conceptualists. For he makes it clear that he believes that a physical scientist does not investigate the concepts of things that pass away, but these things themselves.¹⁶ And how could one possibly regard those things or the elements of which they consist only as a formation or product of our mind (*figmentum, opus animi*)?

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39: *quaecunque enim distinguuntur aut diversa sunt... aut differentia sunt... Tertius distinguendi modus est, quando discreta sunt quae distinguuntur, id est, quodque seorsum per se, ab alio diversum subsistit. Sic duas substantias, Socratem et Platонem, distinguui dicimus, et non solum ita distinguuntur, sed et differunt etiam, et sunt diversi.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*: *semota animi cogitatione aut mentis operatione, sane artes omnes, omnia doctrinarum genera distinguuntur; perinde ut distincta sunt ea quae tractant; ea vero sunt res.* At first sight, it may seem strange that Agricola offers the distinction between the sciences as argument for the 'outside' reality of the universal; one might regard more easily the unity of a science as an argument for that reality. To my mind we have to see this in the light of the opposition against the conceptualists. For according to them the diversity of the sciences in fact is founded upon the diversity of the *habitus* of the mind (Ockham) or upon the diversity of terms or concepts (Buridan), that is, upon the ways in which we consider realities.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*: *neque physicus conceptus omnium generabilium et corruptibilium considerat aut perquirit; sed ea quae sunt vera generabilia et corruptibilia...*

What holds true for physics, also applies to other sciences and doctrines, since they all require the universal to be something real outside the mind. The same holds with law, ethics and medicine, their precepts and commands being universal and common as well; they would all be void and valueless without anything being common in the real things.¹⁷

Of special interest is the discussion about the question whether, supposing that universals are merely something inside the mind, there exists outside the mind or in reality something that corresponds to these universals or not. For it is evident that this question is particularly relevant with regard to the possible validity of the nominalistic position. According to Agricola then, there would be no difference between the concept of a chimera and that of e.g. a man if there does not exist in reality anything corresponding to the universal in the mind. For both would be empty, since in reality there would not exist anything solid and stable on the basis of which those concepts could be formed. If, on the other hand, we accept that there exists in reality something on which those universals are based, it may be either of the same character as the concept or of another character. If it is of the same character, a universal reality indeed exists;¹⁸ if it is of another character, we are confronted with the same difficulty as before: from that position, again, our concepts would be null and void.

By this discussion Agricola makes it clear that for him the nominalistic point of view does not present a solution to the problem, for, as he points out, according to that position, existing realities would be so disparate that it would be of no use to combine them into a common concept; such a concept would then be comparable with the one of a chimera and only be of a fictive nature.¹⁹ In Agricola's view, however, there is a considerable difference between such a concept of a chimera and the one of man or of other universals – the latter being in no wise empty and void. This again brings him to the position that, since the arts and sciences deal with real things outside the mind, there must be universal natures, or universals,

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 40: quum autem omnes doctrinae aut scientiae sint circa universalia, necesse est universalia aliquid esse extra animam... si ad omnes pertinent (*scil.* the precepts of law etc.), necesse est in omnibus esse commune illud, quo posito, omnia comprehenduntur; quod si in omnibus est, et necesse est extra animam aliquid esse.

¹⁸ Cfr. *ibid.*; I read the line: si tale dicamus, quum sit universale, conceptum erit et universale, as: si tale dicamus, quum sit universale conceptum, erit et universale.

¹⁹ See *ibid.*: quid enim refert utrum mens nostra ea quae prorsus differunt, et in nullo conveniunt, in uno communi coniungat, quum inter se penitus discrepant? An partes Chymerae dissidentis, et quae in unam formam cogi non possunt, in unius corporis formas coactas esse configat?

outside the mind and independent of any of its activities.²⁰ Agricola then closes his discussion with an observation which at first sight may seem to have a certain skeptical flavour, but which in fact stresses again the point that the universal exists even without any help of the, human, mind.²¹

With regard to the second question formulated in the beginning of the treatise, Agricola states that, if the universal exists outside the mind, it must be something different from singular things. For it seems impossible that two things both correspond to and are different from each other in what is one and the same. The singular things, then, conform to one another in the universal; thus e.g. Socrates and Plato in humanity, but at the same time they are different from each other in the singular. That is to say, in a notion or property which is additional to humanity and which has no similarity with anything else. In this connection Agricola observes that this singular notion of property is called the individual difference by the followers of Duns Scotus. On these grounds the universal has to be something different from the singular. Another argument is based on the fact that the universal is communicable, while the singular is not.²²

Agricola here ends his discussion on universals with the remark that many testimonies of the greatest philosophers could be given – apparently in support of his position – but that it was not so much his intention to examine what had been said before as to search for the truth and what is most in conformity with the nature of things (*rerum natura*).

* * *

Short and sketchy as Agricola's discussion about universals may be, in some respects it is nevertheless unmistakeably clear.

Firstly, it has become evident that the problem is discussed within the framework of the two rival schools of thought of the late-medieval period: on the one hand the nominalist, conceptualist, or terminist one, and on the other the realist one. It was precisely the view on universals that formed the demarcation-line between these two schools. We know that the competition between these schools was very strong, particularly in the second half of the fifteenth century. In this connection one has only to

²⁰ Cfr. *ibid.*: et Socrates, Plato, Crito, unam habent in se communem vel universalem naturam humanitatis, quod universale diximus vocari, omni etiam animae aut intellectus opere semoto.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41: erit nimis universale extra animam, quod omnia inter se clausa habeat, nec per ullam exteriorum cognitionem, aut inquisitionem, nec recte intelligi possit nec complecti quale sit, quale omni animi ministerio cessante videtur esse. To my mind, the last clause of this sentence is what is the most important here.

²² For this part, cfr. *ibid.*, p. 41.

think of the banishment from Paris of the nominalists by royal decree in the year 1474 and of other incidents of the same nature.

Secondly, it is evident that Agricola resolutely takes sides with the realistic point of view. This may be concluded without any doubt from the realistic, and even somewhat essentialistic, views which he expresses. As we have seen, he not only declares that the universal is an essential unity or common nature that has real existence in individual realities, but he also considers the universal as something different from individual realities while existing in them. The same may also be concluded, however, from his strong opposition against the nominalist point of view. For, as we have also seen, he expresses repeatedly that the universal exists outside the mind and regardless of any activity of the mind (... *semota animi cogitatione aut mentis operatione...*, ... *omni etiam animae aut intellectus opere semoto, ... omni animi ministerio cessante*).²³ And he leaves no doubt as to his reasons for rejecting the nominalist view: in his opinion such a view would destroy all arts and sciences.

In connection with Agricola's siding with the realist point of view, we may call to mind the revival of this view in the fifteenth century at first particularly in Paris but subsequently in Cologne and Louvain and other universities as well. Agricola's choice for the realist position, therefore, might be brought into connection with the education he had received in Cologne, Louvain, and perhaps also in Paris. However, we should also bear in mind that this choice for realism and against nominalism or conceptualism is also in accordance with the attitude of e.g. Petrarch, Leonardo Bruni and other humanists towards what they called the barbarians and their ways of doing logic, among whom they reckoned Ockham and other nominalists.²⁴ In this connection we should take into account that Agricola does not present his realistic position in a very elaborate manner, nor does he make a choice between the different schools of realistic thought, e.g. Albertism or Scotism. This may be due to the fact that the treatise as it has come down to us is only a sketch. In my opinion, however, this should be seen as a sign that what is really important for Agricola is to make a general stand in favour of the realist point of view and against nominalism. For in Agricola's opinion the latter does not only obscure our sight of reality with its technical logical intricacies, but factually it takes away the possibility of any systematic

²³ I am afraid that I cannot agree, therefore, with the interpretation presented by Kessler, 'Humanismus und Naturwissenschaft bei Rudolf Agricola', 149-150, who considers the universals to be deprived by Agricola of their ontological foundation and to be reduced to *conceptus mentis*.

²⁴ Cfr. for this attitude, Garin, 'La cultura fiorentina', and Vasoli, 'Intorno al Petrarca ed ai logici moderni'.

knowledge of reality. The realist view on universals, on the other hand, not only allows for a real knowledge of the world but it also serves as the basis of a real philosophy which deals with the actual problems of mankind. That is to say, in Agricola's opinion, it allows the development of a realist philosophy in both senses of the word.

What we have seen with regard to Agricola's ideas as expressed in his *De universalibus* is to my mind in fundamental agreement with those expressed elsewhere. In this respect one might in particular refer to the well-known text of *De inventione* I,2; here also he states that although the immensely numerous things are different from each other by their own distinctive marks, there is a nevertheless common condition in them. Agricola here uses the same terms as in *De universalibus* to designate the universal, i.e.: *communis habitudo, naturae similitudo*.²⁵ Much the same can be noticed with regard to other texts, such as the ones found in I.4, I.13 and II.6 and 7.²⁶ As has been noted already by others,²⁷ Agricola in fact everywhere emphasizes the important role the *res ipsae* play in his dialectics. One might conclude that for Agricola in last resort the *loci* are not only based on the real things and their universal natures, but that they must also be derived from these.

In recent times emphasis has been laid on the skeptical tendencies in Agricola's dialectics.²⁸ It is by no means my intention to deny the primordial place of discourse *in utramque partem* in his disputational art nor to deny that no more than probability might be achieved by it. Nevertheless, in my opinion this does not alter the fact that Agricola's dialectics is founded ultimately on a basic realism such as explicitly expressed in his *De universalibus*.

In any case I hope to have shown that if we are to present a true picture of our Frisian humanist, we may not leave out his view on universals.

²⁵ DID (1539), p. 9: *inest tamen omnibus (tametsi suis quaeque discreta sunt notis) communis quaedam habitudo, et cuncta ad naturae tendunt similitudinem.*

²⁶ See e.g. DID (1539) I, 13, p. 75: *... mens nostra... formas omnes rerum habitudinesque et genera... discernit, disponit, inque varios artium, scientiarumque distribuit usus.*

²⁷ Cfr. Kessler, 'Humanismus und Naturwissenschaft bei Rudolf Agricola' and Vanderjagt, 'Rodolphus Agricola Groningensis'.

²⁸ Cfr. in particular Jardine, 'Lorenzo Valla', see e.g. p. 259: For Valla and Agricola the pursuit of truth is an elusive if not an impossible undertaking.

WIM VAN DOOREN

THE ARTES AT FERRARA: POMPONAZZI AND AGRICOLA

The subject of this paper is the situation of the *artes*, the function of philosophy and the role of moral philosophy in northern Italy around 1500. In this context two such different philosophers as Pomponazzi and Agricola will be compared. I will show that they share a common view on philosophy despite many other differences.

The situation of philosophy in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century shows a variety of aspects. In the medieval tradition philosophy was taught in monasteries and monastic schools in close connection to theology. The integration of philosophy there and in the newly founded universities followed different and complex patterns. As far as the more formal aspects were concerned philosophy became identified with the *trivium*. On the other hand, its more material aspects were treated in the *quadrivium*. Sometimes a special place was reserved for moral philosophy. The position of philosophy varied according to the reason for which it was taught: was it no more than an introductory course or was it the final goal of a university career? Whatever the case, Aristotelian philosophy was of utmost importance in renaissance Italy: as a rule it was treated independently of the theological context.

A rather different field of philosophical activity was opened up by the work of the humanists. Their concern was a literary one, based on the ancient cultures of Rome and Greece. Notwithstanding their frequent and strong relationship with the universities they were in a loose sense amateur philosophers. Sometimes they were university teachers; but more often they worked as secretaries of courts or of cities and in comparable positions. Their main interest in philosophy lay in the *trivium*, especially in rhetoric, and in moral theory.

A different type of philosopher is found in the field of the crafts and of experimental, technical science. These philosophers worked in a rather isolated, private sphere. This kind of craftsmanship later developed into a new philosophy of nature and also into art in the modern sense of the word. In summary we can say that philosophy and the *artes* sometimes overlapped completely, sometimes only partially; in extreme cases they operated in complete separation from each other. In Agricola we see a combination of humanism and academic philosophy, although he did not have an appointment as a university professor; Pomponazzi is first of all a professor of Aristotelian philosophy, but he spent some time as an

educator and orator outside the university. In Pomponazzi's view philosophy belonged only to the *facultas artium*; for Agricola philosophy was definitely more than this.

Agricola and Pomponazzi both lived in Ferrara for many years, separated by less than two decades. We must here consider first the intellectual climate of Ferrara in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and the beginnings of the sixteenth. The university, which had been founded in 1391, was closely connected to the court of the Estes who governed Ferrara. It was thus possible to be at the same time the teacher of the duke's children and a university professor, combining the roles of humanist and Aristotelian philosopher. During our period two dukes ruled the city successively. Ercole I (1471-1505) lost a war against Venice and the Pope in 1484; his successor Alfonso (1505-1534) also fought against Venice in the Ligue of Cambrai (1508), which now included the Pope. Venice was defeated but it recovered when the Pope took its side again in 1510. Ferrara once again was threatened. These events adversely affected the two universities of the rival cities: in 1508 the university of Venice at Padova was closed and in 1510 the same fate befell Ferrara's school.

The difficulties which arose for the teaching of philosophy had a political origin and not an ideological one; the Pope's interest was in political power and not in maintaining a pure (philosophical) doctrine. For this reason the intellectual climate under the power of the Pope was liberal and free. Philosophers could discuss 'dangerous' subjects like the immortality of the soul without getting involved into problems. They could even defend extreme positions like those of Pomponazzi. Together with this free atmosphere in the two universities there was a growing interest in the Greek language. Ferrara became famous for its Greek studies and at Padova a special chair to study Aristotle's work in Greek was established in 1497. This defense of Greek philosophy, and more especially of Aristotelian philosophy as it was studied and taught at the universities, was strongly opposed to the Latin philosophy of the humanists. Here there was almost a struggle between two cultures, notwithstanding the fact that Latin philosophy has a notable Greek background. Petrarch had already fought his battle as a humanist against the Aristotelian academics. Despite all these controversies, however, there was an astonishing number of agreements which could be pointed out, even between philosophers like Agricola and Pomponazzi who at first sight differ almost completely and who come from totally different traditions.

Agricola and Pomponazzi both taught and wrote philosophy in the same Ferrara, in only slightly different times, partly under the aegis of the

same duke. The outcome of this comparison shows an unexpected agreement about what philosophy is and how it works. This agreement is all the more astonishing in view of the fact that there is no indication at all of mutual influence or acquaintance. Agricola and Pomponazzi shared a basic view of philosophy's elite character, its contents and its moral purpose.

After studying at Pavia, Agricola went to Ferrara in 1475, attracted mainly by the possibility of learning Greek there. He remained a student, translated some books from Greek into Latin and worked on his main treatise on the theory of argumentation or rhetoric, *De inventione dialectica*, which he did not publish. In fact he never became a teacher or professor of the Ferrara university. His activities brought him back and forth between the court and the university: he earned his living as an organist of the court. His whole style of life was typically 'humanistic'. When he was invited to read the opening address for the winter term of 1476, he had an opportunity to submit his views on philosophy – not by saying few things with many words, as Sassen has it¹ – but by articulating its principal points. His title *in laudem philosophiae*, to which he added *et reliquarum artium*, accentuated the term 'philosophia' and also went beyond the borders of academic philosophy as taught in the *facultas artium*. He opposed academic Aristotelian philosophy more clearly in his *De inventione dialectica*: Aristotle is no authority; although he said many important things, he was also just an ordinary man, who made mistakes.² Agricola intentionally replaced Aristotelian syllogistics with his own treatment of *quaestiones*. In the year 1479 Agricola left Ferrara, and the fame which he had acquired there soon disappeared. After six years he again made a short visit to the badly damaged city when he was on a mission to Rome.

Eleven years later, in 1496, Pomponazzi settled in Ferrara for three years. He came from Padova, where he had been a professor of philosophy since 1488. Pomponazzi had completed his studies in medicine and philosophy at the same university. He held his chair in competition with the chair of Achillini; this designates him as an Alexandrinist antagonist of Averroism. He retired and took a post at the court of Alberto Pio, count of Carpi, who very soon had to flee to Ferrara; Pomponazzi accompanied him there. At Ferrara he taught logic and prepared publications on psychology and physics. His lectures have not survived. Paulo Giovio reports that on special occasions Pomponazzi also appeared as a rhetor. A second stay in Padova ended in 1509 because the

¹ Sassen, *Wijsbegeerte in Nederland*, 89.

² Agricola, DID (1539), in Alardus I, p. 15, also pp. 14, 19.

university was closed. He tried to obtain a position at Bologna but meanwhile he was appointed to the university of Ferrara. Here he taught philosophy during the winter term of 1509-1510, lecturing especially on Aristotle's *De anima*.³ It was his bad luck that the university of Ferrara was also compelled to close its doors. Subsequently, after a short interlude in his native city of Mantova, he was appointed to a chair in Bologna, where he remained until his death. Here he began to publish.

The activities of Agricola and Pomponazzi show a close resemblance. Although Agricola was primarily a university teacher, he also worked as a humanist at the court and in various other places. Moreover, he was occupied for some time with logical and rhetorical work. Agricola as a humanist nevertheless felt very much at home in academia. Their philosophical positions, nevertheless, seem to differ considerably. Pomponazzi found himself completely within the Aristotelian tradition and shifted from a more Thomist background to a rather progressive view. He always maintained two criteria for philosophy: Aristotle and natural reason, and according to him these two criteria were always compatible. But his main aim was to remain within natural limits (*infra limites naturales*)⁴ and also within the limits of the *artes*. Curiously enough it is rather probable that Pomponazzi could not read Greek; he knew Aristotle only through translations and commentaries. Agricola knew Greek but opposed Aristotle. We must, however, note the fact that opposition to Aristotle was common in certain humanist circles and by no means an indication of progressive philosophy.⁵ On the contrary, the Aristotelianisms of the Renaissance in many respects formed the philosophical and scientific *avant-garde*. Also, every philosophy of that time was a kind of mixture; nearly all philosophers were eclectic.⁶

Despite their proximity in time and place and even despite the many similarities of their thought, there is no trace of any influence of Agricola on Pomponazzi. How can this lack of influence be explained?

First we must suppose that the few years between the stay of Agricola and of Pomponazzi in Ferrara were probably enough to eclipse the fame of Agricola because he had not published anything. Secondly we must notice the differences in the situation and the context of the two philosophers. They lived in almost opposite situations: the one was above all a humanist, the other a professional Aristotelian philosopher, even though their technical manner of philosophizing in the form of *quaestiones*

³ Oliva, 'Pomponazzi', 188-189.

⁴ Pomponazzi, *De immortalitate animae*, 5.

⁵ Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 115ff.

⁶ Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance*, 102.

rather than of syllogisms was similar. Thirdly, if there are similarities in their thought the cause is not any form of influence of the one on the other but rather the common eclectic background of contemporary philosophy.

Before passing on to the 'material' view of philosophy which Agricola and Pomponazzi held, I must insist on their radically different views on the relation between theology and philosophy, respectively between the supernatural and the natural fields in the Thomist tradition. The Averroists went a step further by declaring a sharp opposition between both areas; that what is true for reason need not be true for faith and vice versa. This doctrine of a 'double truth' was adhered to by all those philosophers who like Averroes were highly critical of and sceptical towards existing religion. This doctrine was upheld by Pomponazzi; he denied on reasonable grounds the immortality of the soul and had no faith in miracles, but he had no problems in claiming to believe all religious dogmas including that of the immortality of the soul. For Agricola the case is completely different. He did not see any discrepancy between faith and reason. On the contrary, he proposed a *philosophia christi*.

It has sometimes been supposed that Pomponazzi was not sincere in his religious attitudes, or that he was afraid of the possible consequences of his philosophical arguments. This supposition is incorrect, for he considered the two fields as isolated from one another. He argued that ordinary people did not need more than simple faith, while the philosopher had his own different view. This lead to an elitist kind of philosophy: to be sure, the philosopher had to be very cautious in keeping his views to himself and the 'happy few'; there is no need for 'everyone' to know what the philosopher knows. The profession of philosopher is even dangerous: whoever wants to find the truth ought to be a heretic in philosophy.⁷ Generally, the faith of the common man is much stronger than that of the philosopher (*fides vulgi maior est fide philosophorum*⁸). Pomponazzi, however, was not trying to flatter the common man.

Leaving the specific religious issue aside, we see in this elitist view of philosophy a striking agreement between Agricola and Pomponazzi. Both quoted the same text of Plato that philosophy is a gift of the gods to men; both regarded it evident that only few people can accept this gift. In Agricola's opinion to be a philosopher is to be more than a man; Pomponazzi stated that he who does not participate in philosophy is a mere animal.⁹ It is surprising to find that Agricola held such a view: his

⁷ Pomponazzi, *Quaestio*, quoted in Nardi, *Pomponazzi*, 19.

⁸ Pomponazzi, *Comm. in Met. III*, quoted in Nardi, *Pomponazzi*, 147.

⁹ Pomponazzi, *De incantationibus*, 251.

origins were in the popular movement of the 'Brethren of the Common Life'. Pomponazzi on the other hand gradually became disappointed about the attitude of the common man towards himself and towards philosophy in general. In a way quite different from the usual Neoplatonist interpretation he compares the philosopher with Prometheus:¹⁰ Pomponazzi's Prometheus is not an heroic figure, stealing fire and creating man, but he is 'a philosopher, who in trying to know God's secrets is consumed by perpetual sorrows and thoughts, is not thirsty, not hungry, does not sleep, does not eat, does not relieve himself. Everyone laughs at him, and takes him to be an idiot and sacrilegist, he is persecuted by examiners, he becomes a spectacle for the people. This is the profit of the philosophers, this is their reward'.¹¹ Pomponazzi himself experienced no threat to his life but he foresaw how his later followers were to be persecuted by the Inquisition. This persecution also partly affected the life of ordinary people, as the case of Menotti shows.¹²

Pomponazzi warned ordinary people to refrain from philosophy because they were incapable of dealing with it in the correct way. Cicero could be quoted in this context to the effect that philosophy is only for the right minds;¹³ also Agricola thought that philosophy was restricted to only a few people.¹⁴ At the basis of these considerations lay the conviction that there are different kinds of people. This idea is brought forward in Plato's hierarchy of men in which philosophers comprise the highest rank and also in Aristotle's related division of men on the basis of their activities (thinking, acting, producing). For Aristotle, also, philosophy and more particularly contemplation was the highest possible way of life. Analogous to this division of men is the division of philosophy itself. The ideas of Agricola and Pomponazzi on this point have a common background in ancient philosophy. Therefore we must briefly consider the traditional division of philosophy.

Traditionally two lines of thought can be distinguished, one going back to Aristotle and eventually to Plato and the other to the Stoa, albeit with some variations.¹⁵ Aristotle divided philosophy into a theoretical, a practical and a productive part. He made an exception for logic, which he considered a pure tool and an introduction to philosophy without being a part of it. After Aristotle the productive part disappears from philosophy, not in the last place because the connection between science and

¹⁰ Panovsky, *Studies in Iconology*, 50ff.

¹¹ Pomponazzi, *De fato*, 262.

¹² Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi*.

¹³ Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* II, 11.

¹⁴ Agricola, *Oratio in laudem philosophiae*, in Alardus II, p. 145.

¹⁵ Habets, *Indeling van de filosofie*, 115.

philosophy was loosened. Philosophy thus kept two parts: the theoretical and the practical sides. The Stoics made a division into three disciplines: physics, ethics and logic. Some Stoics left logic out for the same reasons which Aristotle had, but other Stoics, such as Seneca, widened the scope of philosophy beyond these three disciplines and gave the last and the highest place to morality or the exercise of virtue. For Seneca the ultimate goal of philosophy was the best way of life. The medieval *artes*-system was a continuation of this Stoic division: the *trivium* coincided with logic (as an introduction); the *quadrivium* contained physics and other possible sciences; the place of ethics could be inside as well as outside the *quadrivium*. The situation of the *artes* at Ferrara was a combination of the Aristotelian and the Stoic lines of thought although, of course, the usual eclecticism obscured real differences and even contradictions. Both Agricola and Pomponazzi were representatives of this eclectic attitude with a Stoic accent.

Agricola mentions the Aristotelian tripartition in his *Oratio in laudem philosophiae*, where he points out that there are three qualities in man which make him more than any other animal: 'one, to know everything ... the other, to order and form his actions and his life; the third, to make things...'.¹⁶ In the same *Oratio* he goes on to repeat the Stoic tripartition of philosophy into logic, ethics and physics. In this way he encompasses the medieval *artes*-program in the broadest sense. Logic here corresponds to the *trivium*, physics to the *quadrivium* (together with medicine, law, theology) and ethics is a discipline of its own.¹⁷ In his letter *De formando studio*,¹⁸ Agricola divides philosophy into two fields of right opinions, that is to say, physics and ethics; to these he adds the right way of speaking about them (a remnant of logic in the form of rhetoric). This calls to mind the Aristotelian position: philosophy consists of a theoretical and a practical part, with an introduction of logic. In contrast to this narrow outline of philosophy, the broader Stoic one is found in the *Oratio* in which he considers morality the *ultima pars philosophiae*, the goal beyond any immanent division. Agricola's ultimate goal is not Aristotelian contemplation nor Epicurean pleasure but Stoic peace of mind.

Pomponazzi shows the same mixture of Aristotelian and Stoic elements. Although he taught philosophy within the context of the *facultas artium*, and at least implicitly took over the Stoic tripartition, in fact he stuck to the Aristotelian division into three forms of intellect: the theoretical, the practical or operative, and the productive. This division

¹⁶ Agricola, *Oratio in laudem philosophiae*, in Alardus II, pp. 150-151.

¹⁷ Akkerman, 'Humanistenleven', 42 (note 18)..

¹⁸ Agricola, *De formando studio*, in Alardus II, p. 194.

corresponds to the three parts of philosophy on the one hand and to three kinds of men on the other.¹⁹ Pomponazzi combined these three aspects in his discussion about the functioning of each of the three parts and the chance they have of reaching their desired end. As the theoretical intellect is concerned with metaphysical speculation, and the practical intellect with right action and with morality, and the productive intellect with technical affairs, it is clear that not all men can be philosophers or metaphysicians and that not all men are to be technicians. From this it follows that most individual men do not reach the goals of these intellects. In any case, Pomponazzi thought it to be sufficient if mankind as a whole and in some of its representatives were to reach each of these goals. With regard to the practical intellect, however, things are quite different. All men ought to be practical and moral. For this reason the practical part of philosophy is not for the elite alone but it addresses itself to all. At this point Pomponazzi brings in the Stoic stress on morality in the manner of Seneca. He also argued that every man can in fact reach his own moral goal. Perhaps it is true that philosophers understand better what they are doing because the theory of morals is part of their *artes*: but morality and virtue go beyond these *artes*: they are not only a matter for the happy few. Virtue is the general goal of every form of self-fulfillment. This goal is not outside of life but immanent in it: virtue is an end in itself. Here we encounter the same non-elitist view of moral philosophy which we already noted in Agricola. Both derive from the same Stoic background.

Neither Agricola nor Pomponazzi were Stoics in the fullest sense, and they both objected to the fatalistic and rigoristic attitudes of Stoicism. Pomponazzi defended human freedom and Agricola opposed the *horridus rigor stoicorum*. Nevertheless, they had a stronger bent to stoicism than to christianity. Christian values and rewards in a future life are completely absent from their thinking. Pomponazzi has been called a secular Aristotelian and Agricola has been denied the epithet of 'christian humanist'.²⁰ Both philosophers found their consolation in philosophy in the footsteps of Cicero and Boethius. Its therapeutic facilities which Cicero admired were taken over by Agricola.²¹ But the elitist view is still present because the power of philosophy works only if minds are open to it. Agricola went further than Pomponazzi in transcending the *facultas artium* as a philosopher, but Pomponazzi separated philosophy more sharply from religion.

¹⁹ Pomponazzi, *De immortalitate animae*, 89.

²⁰ For Pomponazzi: Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and the Arts*, 117; for Agricola: Rogier, *Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland* I, 93.

²¹ Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* II, 11; Agricola, DID (1539), in Alardus I, p. 146.

In conclusion it may be stated that both philosophers are similarly elitist on some points and non-elitist on others. Theory is for the few, the practice of philosophy is for everyone. Their treatment of the division of philosophy shows that they are both eclectic in a comparable way. Finally, they share the view that it is the function of philosophy to bring about a moral and responsible life.

P. MACK

RUDOLPH AGRICOLA'S TOPICS

The topics are the core of Rudolph Agricola's longest and most important work, the *De inventione dialectica*.¹ Indeed the whole work is referred to under the title of topics, both by Agricola himself and by academic syllabuses of the sixteenth century.² In this paper I try to describe and evaluate Rudolph Agricola's version of the topics. To do this it is necessary to make some comparisons with earlier versions but I have tried to keep these to a minimum so that as much attention as possible can be given to his work as it stands.³ The paper is in three sections which correspond to the three elements which a topics treatise needs to have. First it considers Agricola's discussion of the nature of the topics and their use; secondly it analyses the new list of topics he proposes, and the changes this involves; and thirdly it attempts to characterise his discussions of the individual topics, which are the real substance of the work.

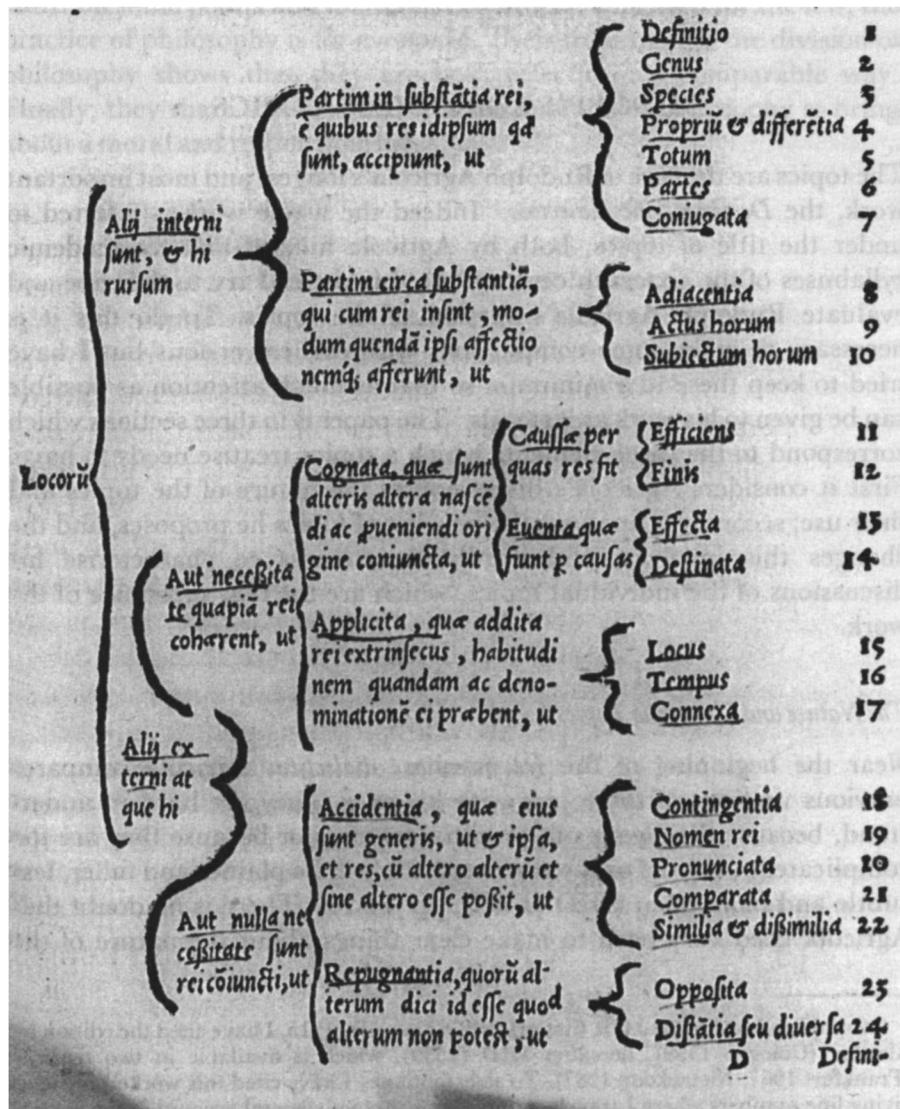
The Nature and Use of the Topics

Near the beginning of the *De inventione dialectica*, Agricola compares previous versions of the topics with his own. They are hard to understand, because they leave out essential features or because they are too complicated, too brief or too restricted. He will be plainer and fuller, less subtle and more open (DID (1539), pp. 14-18). There is no doubt that Agricola tried very hard to make clear things about the nature of the

¹ Completed in August 1479, first printed in Louvain, 1515, I have cited the edition by Alardus (Cologne 1539), hereafter DID (1539), which is available in two reprints (Frankfurt 1967, Nieuwkoop 1967). To save footnotes I have cited this work in my text, giving line numbers where I translate quotations. A good general account of the work is Vasoli, *La dialettica*, 166-182. Also my University of London Ph.D. thesis, 'Rudolph Agricola and Renaissance Dialectic' (1983), 148-219; 357-367.

² Ep. 18, see Hartfelder, 'Unedierte Briefe von R. Agricola', p. 19; Herrman, 'Die Mainzer Bursen'; Bianco, *Die alte Universität Köln*, Anlagen 370; Elyot, *The Boke named the Goverour*, 35v.

³ The tendency to discuss the source material and the changes made instead of the new work produced is a widespread deficiency of source and analogous studies, which I am here trying to avoid. The earlier history of the topics is important, particularly the crucial passage from Aristotle to Cicero, but it needs full treatment on its own. On Agricola's topics: Joachimsen, 'Loci communes'; Cogan, 'Rodolphus Agricola and the Semantic Revolutions'.



VIII. The Alardus/Phrissemius diagram of Agricola's topics DID (1539) in Alardus I, p. 25.

topics and the way they are used which his predecessors had ignored or left implicit.

The best hint which Cicero's *Topica* gives us about the nature of the topics is in a comparison.

Just as it is easy to find things that have been hidden when a place is pointed out and marked, so when we wish to investigate any argument we should know the topics.⁴

The implication here is that the topics are a set of labelled spaces, like the divisions in a filing system, or like the backgrounds in a memory system. When Cicero later explains that although we need to know the whole list only a few of them will help us on any given occasion,⁵ the method which seems to be implied, is running through the headings in one's mind selecting some and rejecting others. Cicero didn't feel the need to explain the topics properly or to give directions on their use because he assumed everyone knew.

When Boethius says

The intention of the topics is to provide an abundant supply of probable arguments. For once topics have been marked out (Designatis locis) from which probable arguments may be obtained, it is inevitable that the material for discoursing should become full and copious.⁶

he is probably assuming a similar method. Taken on its own, what he says will not help us at all in learning how to use the topics. Having defined the topics, with Cicero, as the seats of arguments, Boethius explains that they consist of necessarily true axioms and differentiae which divide the innumerable axioms into a finite number of classes.⁷ As Green-Pedersen's excellent recent book has shown, this explanation obliged medieval commentators to argue at length about what kind of a statement a topic is, whether the topic is the differentia or the maxim and how the topic functions in argument.⁸

Agricola devotes chapters 26-30 of book 2 of the *De inventione dialectica* to explaining how the topics are to be used. His instructions are systematic, painstaking and full. Familiarity with the topics is acquired by analysing the arguments found while reading the best authors, by reconstructing the argumentative structures implied and by labelling the topical

⁴ *Topica*, 2.7. There is a fuller account at *Orator*, 14.46-15.48.

⁵ *Topica*, 29.79. *Partitiones oratoriae*, 2.7-3.8. *De oratore* II, 39.162 - 41.176.

⁶ Boethius, 'De differentiis topicis', PL 64, 1182A; compare 'In Topica Ciceronis', PL 64, 1048A.

⁷ PL 64, 1185A-1186A; 1051C-1054B.

⁸ Green-Pedersen, *The Tradition of the Topics*; this invaluable book is now the starting point for any discussion of the topics in the middle ages.

relationships underlying them. Working in the other direction, one may take an object and apply each of the topics to it in turn. Two such topical descriptions may then be compared for the purpose of discovering mediated relationships between the two original objects. These mediated relationships may then form the basis for argumentation (DID (1539), pp. 353-372). Agricola provides worked examples of his own at each stage, comparing himself to the painting teacher who demonstrates as well as describes his technique. He analyses passages from the best authors to show how the same techniques are used at a more sophisticated level.⁹

Agricola begins his discussion of the nature of the topics, in book 1, chapter 1, by describing their usefulness. Since people need arguments and since some can find them only slowly and with difficulty,

they seem to have done something most useful, who devised certain seats or arguments which they call topics: by whose suggestion, as if by some signs, we might turn our minds around the things themselves and might perceive whatever in each of them might be probable and suitable for what our speech sets out to teach (DID (1539), p. 2, lines 12-16).

In this description the topics act as a remembered group of signs, pointing the mind to speculations about particular things which may turn out to fit in with what we want to say. While the speculations will be regulated by the speaker's intention, and will spring from the matter in hand, the topics will provide a fixed and supposedly complete list of manoeuvres for the mind to attempt.

As the rules of rhetoric suggest, in his opening chapter Agricola emphasizes the usefulness of what he is about to teach. Since so many aspects of human affairs are uncertain and subject to dispute it is important to understand probable argumentation. The arguments from the topics are of more general application and will be more convincing to ordinary people than the arguments drawn from specialised subjects. The topics are a training in thinking as well as in persuading since prudence itself seems to consist in knowing the nature of something, what agrees and disagrees with it, what it causes and what might happen (DID (1539), pp. 2-3).

After he has established that the topics are useful, in chapter 2 he begins to work towards a definition of a topic, starting from a discussion of the nature of proof. In order to prove something which is in doubt one needs to adduce something from outside which is already well-known. But the thing which is brought from outside needs to be something which

⁹ DID (1539), pp. 355-356; 364-366; 368-372; 359-362.

fits, something which is closely related to what you want to prove (DID (1539), pp. 6-7):

it ought to be joined by some reason and almost related to that thing which it is brought in to prove, such that it should seem, if you are affirming, that the thing in question cannot exist without it, or, if you are denying, that it cannot be destroyed without it (DID (1539), p. 7, lines 19-22).

Even though the word 'seem' is used here, the way this is put suggests a model of reasoning that is more categorical than probabilistic. The order of the exposition at this point seems close to Boethius,¹⁰ who also seems to drift from a model involving probability to one involving necessity. Agricola explains the idea of bringing in something better known with an analogy from measuring. If we wish to determine whether two objects which cannot be placed side by side are the same size, we may take a third object which is the same size as one of them and compare that with the other. In the same way, in determining whether or not two things agree with each other, we must find a third thing which agrees with one and can be compared with both. This will be the medium of argumentation, which is also called the argument, since it causes belief (DID (1539), pp. 7-8).

This analogy seems to be questionable in itself (since it assumes that all the relationships denoted by 'agrees' are transitive)¹¹ and unsuited to Agricola's general view (since it fits only a few categorical arguments). What he wants the analogy to suggest, I think, is that an argument depends on a relation holding between the medium and each of the outer terms:

All the things which are said either for or against something fit together and are, as I might say, joined with it by a certain community of nature. Now there are very many things and consequently an immense number of properties and diversities among them. From this it follows that no discourse and no power of the human mind can comprehend individually all the relations in which individuals agree and differ. However, a certain common condition (*habitudo*) is present in all things (even though they are different in their distinguishing marks), and they all tend to a similarity of nature. So, for example, every thing has a certain substance of its own,

¹⁰ PL 64, 1050B-1051A; 1052B-C. I am thinking of the way in which in both cases proof is defined in terms of 'something better known', then as finding mediums of argumentation, then in terms of the idea that the topics classify the innumerable propositions of the world.

¹¹ Further he seems to overestimate the negative force of cases where there is no agreement. Part of the problem originates from his deliberate choice of the wide ranging term *consentanea* (anything which can be said about something, DID (1539), pp. 7-8) but then applying to it definitions based on relations which are transitive and exclusive like cause, genus, and species.

certain causes it arises from, certain effects it causes. And so the most ingenious of men have chosen, out of that vast variety of things these common headings: such as substance, cause, effect and the others which we shall speak of soon. As if following these things, when we alert our mind to consider any given matter, at once we shall go through the whole nature of the thing and its parts and through all things which are consistent or incompatible with it, and we shall draw from there an argument apposite to the matter proposed. These common headings just as they contain within themselves everything that can be said about any matter, so also they contain all the arguments; for this reason they are called topics, because in them are placed as if in a refuge or a sort of treasury all instruments for causing belief. Therefore a topic is nothing other than a certain common sign of a thing by the direction of which whatever may be believable about a given thing can be found (DID (1539), p. 9, lines 11-32).

This definition of a topic seems to result from a convergence of two ideas. The arguer needs to discover connections between things; the things in the world need to have some common ways of being related. Agricola keeps in mind Cicero's picture of the spaces marked and labelled but he makes a more sweeping claim for similar connections in the nature of reality. All that can be said about something and all that something is, must emerge from a consideration of the topics. This is a strong claim to make and, if it is found convincing, it provides a rationale for the ways in which the topics are to be used, for discovering material and for thinking. It certainly fits the nature of the topics and the way they function better than Boethius' claim about the maxims.¹²

In elaborating this explanation, Agricola rides roughshod, rather as Valla had, over the distinctions the scholastic tradition had tried to make (for example in discussions of Aristotle's *Categories*) between words, concepts and the world of objects.¹³ The claim that topics reflect the structure of reality will obviously suit some of the topics (for example, causes) far better than it suits others (such as comparisons). In common with other writers in the topics tradition Agricola suffers from two further logical difficulties. He is continually slipping into a way of speaking in which categorical arguments and the syllogism in particular serve as the model for all argumentation, and indeed for discourse in general. None of the writers in the topics tradition defines a clear distinction between the probable and the certain. Agricola's idea of the probable is very broad and includes things which are true. However the problem may be less

¹² See note 7.

¹³ I am thinking of such developments as commentaries on the *Isagoge* and the *Categories*, the theory of supposition, and Ockham on intentions and impositions. For guidance and bibliography see the chapters in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, by Ebbesen, Henry and Spade. Valla, *Repastinatio*, 124, 366, 311-2. My thesis (note 1), 48-60.

acute for Agricola, since he lays such emphasis on judging the strengths of arguments after they have been found, and on the variety possible in different applications of a particular topic.

There also seems to be a wavering between talking of arguments as found middle terms, implying a syllogistic model, and talking of arguments as relations of varying degrees of closeness. This reflects a general problem of formulation. He wants to broaden and vary the idea of what counts as persuasion, but the models of explanation which exist work better for a narrower conception of argument. Agricola's account is not fully consistent, and there are problems in the tradition which he cannot solve, but the account he gives of how and why the topics function is more detailed, more powerful and in my view more satisfactory than his predecessors'.

The List of Topics

<i>Cicero Topics</i>	<i>Boethius/Themistius</i>	<i>Agricola DID</i>
Definition	Substance	Definition
Enumeration Parts	Definition	Genus
Etymology	Description	Species
Conjugates	Etymology	Property
Genus	Consequents	<i>Differentia</i>
Species	Genus/Whole	Whole
Similitude	Species/Parts	Parts
Differentia	Efficient cause	Conjugates
Contrary	Material cause	Adjacents
Adjunct	Formal cause	Actions
Antecedents	Final cause	Subject
Consequents	Effects	Efficient cause
Repugnats	Corruptions	Final cause
Efficient cause	Accidents	Effects
Effects	Judgement	<i>Destinata</i>
Comparison	Similars	Place
Authority	Greater	Time
	Lesser	<i>Connexa</i>
	Opposites	Contingents
	Proportion	Name of a thing
	Transumption	Opinions
	Cases	Comparisons
	Conjugates	Similars
	Division	Dissimilars
		Opposites
		<i>Distantia</i>

The lists of the topics which survive to us are treated by the textbook writers as traditional. Neither Cicero nor Boethius explains how the list he presents was arrived at or why it is complete. We now think that Cicero's list probably derives from work on Aristotle's *Topica* by

Theophrastus and his followers, while Themistius' list, from which Boethius works, looks like an elaboration from the same tradition.¹⁴ In terms of the other structures of Aristotelian logic it is an extremely heterogeneous list: Genus, Species, Property, Differentia and Accidents belong to the Predicables; Enumeration of Parts, Antecedents and Consequents to forms of argument; the four causes, effects and corruptions lead towards natural science; definition and division are methods; while cases, conjugates and etymology belong to grammar; the contraries to the post predicaments; comparison and similitude to the figures. Agricola retains the main elements of this list, but he does attempt to introduce a little more order into it. He excludes antecedents and consequents on the grounds that they are forms of argumentation. For him definition defines substance, while description is either a less formal alternative or a part of quality. The topics from the predicables are put together with definition, which they help construct, and with whole and parts, and conjugates as topics 'within the substance of a thing'. This seems orderly, with the possible exception of conjugates which might go anywhere but perhaps should be placed beside etymology among the external topics.

The first four external topics are the cognates, in which things are necessarily joined together in the process of coming to be: efficient and final cause, effect and result. The third group of topic relations imply no necessary connections: The *accidentia* and the repugnats. This scheme underestimates the force of arguments from opposites, though his later discussion does not. In addition to this reordering of existing topics, Agricola has added seven new topics: three internal topics 'around the substance': adjacents, action and subject; three necessary external topics of *applicita*: place, time and *connexa*; and one new accidental: contingents. These seven topics divide up the Ciceronian topic of adjuncts in a way which reflects Agricola's reorganisation of the other topics according to degree of connection. The first reaction to Agricola's list is that it is an improvement: it seems to group like with like and to introduce some justification for the distinction between internal and external topics, which provoked considerable discussion and perplexity in the commentaries.¹⁵ Furthermore, the gradation of the topics into six subgroups, each connected more loosely to the starting point seems to offer a useful rough and ready indication of the likely strength of the inference in each relationship. Further reflection obliges us to qualify this positive im-

¹⁴ Pinborg, *Logik und Semantik*, 21-6. Some of Cicero's topics are anticipated by Aristotle, *Rhetoric* II, 23, but this list also contains additional and different topics.

¹⁵ Green-Pedersen, *The Tradition of the Topics*, 54.

pression a little. Even without consequents and antecedents the topics remain extremely heterogeneous and, indeed, among the topics which Agricola adds are further competing elements: the remaining categories, and three topics representing a different systematisation of reality, deriving from Valla's criticism of Aristotle.¹⁶

This throws us up against one of the paradoxes of the topics. In a way the topics seek to be an analysis of the kinds of material inference, a reasonably complete system which corresponds to a categorisation of the kinds of relationship exhibited in language and in the universe. In another sense they are a checklist, a set of memory keys, in which, since the object is solely to call to mind effective and appropriate connections, elements of reduplication or competition, far from being a logical liability, may, like redundancy in speech, actually help the system function more effectively. As Agricola says in defending his new topics:

Nor is it without use, even if the nature of things does not require it, if there should nonetheless be several topics that is, approaches and routes, for finding one thing; so that if one of them is less successful in leading us to what we seek, yet by trying another or a third, we may succeed in some other direction (DID (1539), p. 110, line 16 - p. 11, line 2).

Agricola's reorganisation of the list is original and substantial, but there is an irreducible heterogeneity in the list itself which resists schematisation. The topics do not possess the characteristics of a closed system.

Discussions of Particular Topics

I must now turn to Agricola's treatment of particular topics. I shall first compare his treatment of two topics, similars and comparison, with earlier versions and then describe some general characteristics of Agricola's versions.

Similars and comparisons occur in Agricola's three main sources, Cicero, Quintilian and Boethius.¹⁷ In Cicero and Quintilian they are discussed several paragraphs apart, but, in both cases, shared examples show a connection between the two topics which neither author adverts to. Boethius treats them successively, regarding comparison as three topics: from the greater, from the lesser, from proportion. He treats from equals as contained within similars. As usual his topic descriptions consist mainly of an example of an argument, and a maxim which

¹⁶ Agricola's adjacents, action and subject reflect Valla's reduction of the categories to three: substance, quality and action: *Repastinatio*, bk. I.

¹⁷ *Topica*, 3.15; 4.23; 10.41-45; 18.68-71. *Institutio oratoria* V, 10.73, 86-93. PL 64, 1190C-1191A.

supports it. In these cases the maxims appear to be rather problematic, for example:

If what inheres in a similar way is not a property, nor is the thing in question a property.

If what seems the more to inhere does not inhere, not will what seems the less to inhere, do so.¹⁸

The difficulties posed by 'inheres in a similar way' and 'seems the more to inhere' overshadow any gain in understanding which the metalinguistic axiom form might appear to give.

Cicero explains that the topic of similars takes different forms: the adducing of several comparisons in induction, the comparison of equals, and the citing of parallel cases or examples. Both Cicero and Quintilian have more to say about comparisons, dividing them into comparisons from the greater, the lesser and the equal, and into those which deal with quality, quantity, value or relation. Cicero discusses what greater and lesser might be, in terms of these four classes, and some of what he says here invites comparison with Aristotle's remarks on the probable. For example:

In respect to quantity, more goods are preferred to fewer, fewer evils to more, good things which last for a longer time to those of shorter duration.¹⁹

Quintilian treats comparison as a source of syllogisms and as a form of argument in its own right, showing how it can be used in conjunction with other topics like definition, quality, genus, whole and part.

In spite of the attempts by Cicero and Quintilian to provide necessary clarification, these topics remain problematic. They have not been defined clearly or distinguished from each other; the nature of the arguments they produce has not been discussed and their relationship with the forms of argument and with other topics needs elaboration.

Agricola treats the two topics as a pair, and, uniquely he places comparison before similars:²⁰

Comparison is a crowded topic and one of great use to orators. It is usually ready and to hand. And because it is drawn from things which don't have to be drawn out from the depths, but which are usually known and conspicuous, it also consequently possesses a ready strength for convincing the minds of small education (DID (1539), p. 132, lines 1-6).

He defines comparison carefully, distinguishing the sense in which he uses the word, and showing with literary examples and commentary how

¹⁸ PL 64, 1190C, 1190D.

¹⁹ *Topica*, 18.69.

²⁰ DID (1539), Book I, chapters 24 and 25, pp. 132-146.

it includes but exceeds *exemplum*. Again using examples, he distinguishes between comparison, in which two things are compared in respect of one aspect or quality they have in common, and similar in which two things are compared in respect of the relationship which holds between each of them and two separate others. He then gives examples of positive and negative inferences from greater to lesser and from lesser to greater, thus disproving Boethius' position that greater to lesser works only negatively, lesser to greater only positively. He stresses the importance of ensuring that the things compared are similar in kind, since something is only greater than something else in certain respects. He analyses a section from the *Aeneid* to show the working of a comparison in which the third term alters but is strictly parallel. He continues the analysis of parallel passages to show how in some arguments, strict equality is stronger, while in others further persuasiveness is obtained by moving from an apparent argument from equals to one which combines from greater to lesser with from lesser to greater (DID (1539), pp. 132-135):

Of all the topics from which arguments are drawn almost none has less strength against a resisting hearer than similitude, on the other hand there is none more suitable for the hearer who follows willingly and shows himself apt to be taught. For if it is correctly applied, it opens up a thing and places a sort of picture of it before the mind so that although it does not bring with it the necessity of agreeing, it does cause an implicit reluctance to disagree. Therefore it is not so frequently used for proving things but it is often used by orators for exploring and illuminating things, and even more often used by poets. In spite of this, similitude often has an appearance of proving in itself because it shows how something is. Thus when you read that similitude of Quintilian: 'just as a vase with a narrow mouth rejects an excess of liquid but is filled by flowing or pouring gradually', it does not therefore follow necessarily that on account of this the delicate wits of boys must be taught according to their own strengths, yet however once someone has conceived the matter in his mind according to this image, he persuades himself that it cannot be otherwise (DID (1539), p. 142, lines 1-16).

One can hardly pay sufficient tribute to the subtlety of this perception. However helpful in explanation similitude is, it can easily be rejected; it is not a proof, but it can act like a proof in accustoming a mind to think about a problem in a certain way. The point is developed by an equally illuminating discussion of the way in which a simile from Lucan affects the imagined audience of Caesar's speech.²¹ Then Agricola sets out the method of discovering similitudes, first in abstract terms, and then by suggesting and analysing the implication of alternatives to Lucan's simile. This does a great deal to show the effectiveness of the simile Lucan

²¹ *De bello civili*, 5, 335-39.

actually used, as well as helping one think about the implications of simile vehicles. He suggests that one will be guided to effective similitudes by studying the metaphors of others and by keeping in mind the aim of the speech. Then he discusses the different ways in which they can be used, citing a number of passages from Latin literature. He concludes by emphasizing the richness of both topics, particularly for persuading and illuminating mass audiences (DID (1539), pp. 142-146).

Agricola's version makes its initial definitions and distinctions more clearly than his sources, he analyses the operation of the two topics more subtly and discusses in detail ways of finding suitable arguments and occasions on which to use them.

Even in topics in which his predecessors have made better founded distinctions, for example in causes and effects,²² Agricola's distinctions are explained and exemplified more fully and more carefully so as to lay out the resources of the topic more clearly for the use of the reader. His topics are more exactly defined and more clearly distinguished from others. He gives much more advice on how to discover the relation specified by the topic, and on when and how to use it. Most importantly he chooses and analyses examples from classical authors which illustrate the nature and the effect of most topics. Probably he is more interested in the external topics than other authors were. Certainly he pays more attention to the differences between the topics and to the particular nature of each topic relationship. It is this interest in their peculiarities and in the particular ways in which a given topic relationship may be applied to particular objects or analysed in particular lines which turns him against anything so apparently uniform and inflexible as the maxims. As he points out, the maxims Boethius provides rarely fulfil his own criteria, and when they do they suit only a portion of the relations described by a topic (DID (1539), pp. 175-176). As far as Agricola is concerned, for someone who knows and has thought with the topics, the maxims are superfluous. It is by looking at the things being considered and the words being employed that the different degrees of certainty or plausibility involved will be discovered.

The *De inventione dialectica* is a well organised and, on the whole, carefully unified work. Each of the parts seems to gain strength from the way it fits with the rest. But Agricola is at his best when he is immersed in detail, explaining with a care and attention that goes beyond the teaching point he is illustrating, how a passage from the *Aeneid* functions or why a

²² On causes: Baxandall, 'Rudolph Agricola on patrons efficient and patrons final'. Also his 'Rudolph Agricola and the Visual Arts'.

particular simile affects us in the way it does.²³ His analyses of the way in which particular topic relationships seem to function in interestingly different ways in particular cases are equally impressive. In his practice the topics are not a grid seeking to make different object relations provide proofs down similar lines, they are a signpost to a consideration of a particular thing or a particular expression and it is from the case given, not the general rule posited that Agricola makes his argument. But it is a two way process, for the investigation of particulars in their own terms refines the way the distinctions are made. The category helps us look at the thing, looking at the thing helps us to improve the perception offered by the category.

What impresses me most about this book as I read it are the little perceptions about writing and about things in the world which it contains. In that sense Agricola's topics transcend their function as a textbook and as a guide to a system for thinking and become a record of thoughts and perceptions and an encouragement to the reader in forming his or her own. One of the definitions of a great book is that when you read it at different times it can go on teaching you new things, offering you new pleasures. On that definition I think we could propose that the *De inventione dialectica* of Rudolph Agricola is a great book.²⁴

²³ Mack, 'Rudolph Agricola's reading of literature'.

²⁴ I should like to record my gratitude to the organizing committee, and especially to Dr. Akkerman and Dr. Vanderjagt, for the warmth of their hospitality and the efficiency of their arrangements.

KEES MEERHOFF

AGRICOLA ET RAMUS - DIALECTIQUE ET RHÉTORIQUE

Quelques années avant sa mort violente, le philosophe français Pierre de la Ramée, poussé par les troubles religieux dans son pays, fait la tournée des universités allemandes et suisses.

Nulle part son passage ne reste inaperçu: les conversations qu'il a avec les savants des universités, les cours publiques qu'il donne suscitent tantôt l'admiration, tantôt l'aversion, le plus souvent les deux à la fois.

A la fin de l'année 1569 et au commencement de l'année suivante Ramus séjourne à Heidelberg, la ville où est mort Agricola, à peine un siècle auparavant. Il est invité à donner des leçons à l'Université. Dans une lettre du 23 janvier 1570 adressée à son ancien élève Théodore Zwinger, qui est alors professeur de grec à Bâle, Ramus fait le récit de la commotion provoquée par son cours sur un discours de Cicéron. Voici ce qu'il écrit:

J'ai commenté le discours pour Marcellus devant un nombreux auditoire, mais au grand déplaisir de certaines personnes de l'université. Aussi, malgré les instances réitérées du prince [c'est-à-dire du *Kurfürst* Frédéric III], je n'avais entrepris cette tâche qu'à contrecœur. Lorsque j'eus terminé le discours de Cicéron, l'électeur m'engagea, surtout à cause de son fils Christophe, à donner un cours de dialectique; mais alors il s'éleva une si violente opposition que le prince lui-même en fut ébranlé. Pour moi, saisissant cette occasion de me dégager, je lui dis que l'opposition qui lui était faite n'était pas sans fondement, parce que si Ramus avait continué à enseigner encore un mois, il en serait résulté nécessairement une révolution dans les études. Je fis cependant remarquer combien il était surprenant, suivant moi, que lorsque la fille légitime, la noble fille de l'université de Heidelberg, était ramenée par moi dans sa patrie, elle fût considérée comme une étrangère et répudiée honteusement par les hommes de l'université. Le prince me demandant ce que j'entendais par là, je lui répondis qu'il

On trouvera les titres complets des ouvrages cités dans cet article dans l'*Inventory* de W. Ong (1958), nos. 22, 55, 183, 204, 206, (237), 239, 245, 486, 695, 715, 717, 741, 745; *ibid.*, *Agricola check-list*, nos. xi, xxix (Agricola); no. xiv (Latomus). L'éd. bâloise de 1536 que j'ai citée (cf. notes 25 et 27) manque dans l'*Inventory*: elle est à mettre entre le no. xxiii et le no. xxiv. La voici: B. Latomi Arlunensis, *Epitome Commentariorum Dialecticae inventionis Rodolphi Agricolae. Annotatiunculis prius non aeditis, mirum in modum illustrata*. Bâle, Barth. Westheimer et Nic. Brylinger, 1536. 135 pp. in 8°, signées A1-14. Préface adressée à Andréa Gouveia, principal du Collège Ste Barbe à Paris, et datée le 17 novembre 1533. Comparé à l'impression de 1530, l'ouvrage présente un texte légèrement différent; des annotations marginales y ont été ajoutées.

s’agissait de la vraie dialectique, rendue jadis à Heidelberg par Rodolphe Agricola, aux applaudissements de l’Allemagne, de la France et de l’Italie. Du reste, ajoutai-je, quand on voit les cendres de ce grand homme et la fameuse épitaphe que fit pour lui Hermolaüs Barbarus demeurer oubliées au fond d’une cave, on ne doit point trouver étrange que la fille d’Agricola soit ensevelie dans le même oubli que son père.¹

Dans cette lettre, Ramus semble donc identifier la dialectique d’Agricola à la sienne propre. Dans un autre passage, beaucoup plus connu que celui que je viens de citer, Ramus vante Agricola comme celui qui, «le premier de tous» après l’Antiquité, a rétabli «cet éminent usage de la compétence logique, afin que la jeunesse apprenne [par l’exemple] des poètes et des orateurs non seulement à parler avec pureté et à s’exprimer avec élégance, mais encore à réfléchir avec précision sur les questions à débattre et à en juger avec prudence.»²

Ces dernières remarques de Ramus tendent, malgré les apparences, à réduire singulièrement l’importance qu’il accorde à l’œuvre d’Agricola. Car Ramus ne dit pas «j’ai calqué ma *Dialectique* sur celle d’Agricola»; il se borne à reconnaître que ce dernier, le premier, a enseigné l’usage de la dialectique en se servant d’exemples provenant non pas des manuels de logique, mais des ouvrages des poètes et orateurs de l’Antiquité. C’est uniquement en cela qu’il salue Agricola comme son prédecesseur et modèle.

Autrement dit, ce que Ramus loue dans le *De inventione dialectica*, ce n’est pas tant le système, l’élaboration de la méthode, que l’orientation humaniste, axée sur la pratique, et avant tout sur l’enseignement. Or, comme on sait, c’est une orientation qu’Agricola a en commun avec bon nombre d’Humanistes de la première moitié du XVIe siècle: il suffit de penser à Melanchthon ou à Vivès.³ Mais selon Ramus c’est la gloire d’Agricola d’avoir vu, «le premier» des modernes, la nécessité de «joindre l’éloquence à la philosophie», comprenons: de se servir des grands textes oratoires et poétiques de l’Antiquité non seulement dans l’enseignement de la grammaire et de la rhétorique – cela se faisait depuis toujours –, mais également dans l’enseignement de la logique.⁴

¹ Waddington, *Ramus – sa vie, ses écrits et ses opinions*, 206-7, cf. 424-5.

² Ramus, *Scholae in liberales artes*, préface, fo. 2vo. Voir aussi Vasoli, *La dialettica e la retorica dell’Umanesimo*, 166sqq., 255sqq.; Bruyère, *Méthode et dialectique dans l’œuvre de La Ramée*, 305sqq.

³ Voir p.ex. Vivès, *In pseudodialecticos*. Cf. Vasoli, *La dialettica*, 216.

⁴ Voir surtout Ramus, *Oratio de studiis philosophiae & eloquentiae conjungendis* (1546) et *Pro philosophica parisiensis Academiae disciplina oratio* (1551), dans *Collectaneae praefationes*, 295-405. Cf. Radouant, «L’union de l’éloquence et de la philosophie au temps de Ramus»; Bruyère, *Méthode et dialectique*, 313sqq. («La Ramée et la ‘conjunctio’»).

C'est ce programme pédagogique, conçu par Agricola dès le XVe siècle, que Ramus veut introduire dans le curriculum de l'université de Paris. En conséquence, Ramus plaide en faveur de l'union de la grammaire, de la rhétorique et de la dialectique dans la pratique de l'enseignement, tout en soulignant qu'il faut *séparer* ces trois disciplines au niveau *théorique*. Il veut donc créer un système didactique au moyen duquel ses élèves apprennent les arts du *Trivium* dans des manuels distincts, et à des heures différentes, mais où les *exemples* proviennent tous des *mêmes* textes classiques. Selon lui, c'est la seule méthode pour éviter que les élèves oublient les règles de la grammaire, sous prétexte qu'ils apprennent la rhétorique, ou les règles de la rhétorique, sous prétexte qu'ils apprennent la dialectique!¹⁵

A ce propos, Ramus se sert d'une comparaison amusante: vous voulez vous rendre à un certain endroit pour des affaires, dit-il, et il fait très beau; alors votre promenade, tout en ayant un but bien déterminé, vous rendra bronzés du même coup. De la même façon, lorsque vous étudiez la dialectique dans les beaux textes de l'Antiquité, vos connaissances grammaticales et rhétoriques en profiteront également, et ces renseignements supplémentaires sont gratuits!¹⁶

Voilà pourquoi pour Ramus, l'idéal serait d'avoir un seul maître, qui enseignerait les trois disciplines à la fois, à des heures différentes et à l'aide de manuels distincts, bien entendu, mais qui montrerait aux élèves que les règles de la grammaire, de la rhétorique et de la dialectique sont appliquées concurremment dans la pratique du discours vivant.⁷

En ce qui concerne «l'union de l'éloquence et de la philosophie», le choix des exemples et l'importance primordiale de la pratique (c'est-à-dire de l'usage, de l'exercice) dans l'acquisition des connaissances, Ramus est donc entièrement d'accord avec Agricola; et dans ces domaines, il reconnaît bien volontiers sa dette à l'égard du grand Frison.⁸

Si maintenant nous nous tournons vers la «théorie» proprement dite, en comparant par exemple l'énorme manuel d'Agricola (qui traite pourtant uniquement de l'*inventio*) avec le manuel de dialectique plutôt mince du professeur français, les différences entre les deux Humanistes sautent aux yeux – et ce n'est pas uniquement une question de volume.

Car s'il est vrai, comme l'a remarqué récemment Mme Nelly Bruyère,⁹ que Ramus et Agricola ont en commun un certain platonisme, que l'un et l'autre mettent l'invention *avant* le jugement, et enfin que l'un et l'autre

⁵ Cf. Radouant, «L'union de l'éloquence et de la philosophie», 172.

⁶ Ramus, dans *Collectaneae praefationes*, 354-5; cf. *Scholae*, col. 603 (dialect.).

⁷ Ramus, *Scholae*, col. 256 (rhétor.).

⁸ Sur l'exercice, cf. la fin du *De inv. dial.* avec la fin des *scholae dialect.* de Ramus.

⁹ Bruyère, *Méthode et dialectique*, 112-3.

ont des vues similaires quant à la disposition de la méthode d'exposition «scientifique» ou «scolaire» – celle-ci devait toujours mener du général au particulier –¹⁰, il est pourtant indéniable que l'approche théorique générale est très diverse dans les deux cas.

Pour Agricola, l'objectif de la dialectique est la persuasion, le *fidem facere*, et le moyen de la persuasion est le discours *probable*, le *probabiliter dicere*; là où pour Ramus, la dialectique est d'emblée une recherche de la vérité. Ramus, en effet, récuse la distinction aristotélicienne entre logique, art du vrai, et dialectique, art du probable. Pour lui, logique et dialectique coïncident. Je m'explique.

Dans l'important chapitre deux du second livre de l'*Invention dialectique*, Agricola propose une division générale des *artes*: il y a les arts «physiques», les arts «éthiques» et enfin les arts «du discours», c'est-à-dire les arts que se rapportent *ad orationis dicendique regulam*. Or, selon lui, la dialectique appartient à la dernière catégorie, celle des arts du discours.¹¹ Par conséquent, dit Agricola quelques lignes plus bas, il y a trois facteurs qui entrent en considération: le destinataire, le message et le destinataire (s'il m'est permis de m'exprimer en termes jacobsoniens). Celui qui parle – le destinataire – doit faire en sorte que son message soit bien reçu; son message doit donc être à la fois clair, séduisant et probable. A cet effet, le destinataire dispose de *trois arts discursifs*, à savoir la grammaire, la rhétorique et la dialectique.¹²

Nous saisissons ici sur le vif le caractère éminemment *oratoire* de l'approche d'Agricola: loin de réduire la dialectique à la seule recherche de la vérité rationnelle, il entend parler de celle-ci en termes de *communication*, toujours précaire, car toujours sujette à des facteurs qui risqueraient d'être en déséquilibre les uns par rapport aux autres.

Or, que fait Ramus? La division tripartite en grammaire, rhétorique et dialectique ne lui est pas étrangère; mais chez lui, il y a une division – en dichotomie, on s'en doute – qui *précède* cette tripartition, à savoir la division *ratio / oratio*. «Il y a deux dons universels et généraux, dit-il, dont la nature a muni l'homme: la raison et le discours. La doctrine de la première est la dialectique, les doctrines du second sont la grammaire et la rhétorique.»¹³ Ailleurs, Ramus précise que la dialectique, art de la raison et de l'entendement (*ratio et mens*), peut s'exercer «à l'intérieur»

¹⁰ Agricola, *De inv. dial.*, III, 8 (éd. Phrissemius), III, 9 (éd. Alardus). Je cite d'après l'éd. de Cologne 1528 (réimpr. Hildesheim/N.Y. 1976; préf. W. Risse) et d'après l'éd. de Cologne 1539 (réimpr. Nieuwkoop 1967). Sigle: DID-Ph.=éd. 1528; DID-A=éd. 1539.

¹¹ Agricola, DID-Ph., II, 2, pp. 153-4; DID-A, II, 2, p. 192. Cf. *ibid.* p. 195 (comm. d'Alard) et tome II, p. 151: la philosophie du *logos*.

¹² Agricola, *ibid.*

¹³ Ramus, *Scholae*, cols. 321-2 (rhétor.).

(dans la tête), «*sans l'aide d'aucune langue ou discours*» et il ajoute: «comme chez la plupart des muets, et chez beaucoup de peuples qui vivent sans proférer aucune parole»!¹⁴

Bref, la dialectique ramusienne est la codification de la pensée pure qui, au niveau de la théorie, n'a rien à voir avec les *artes orationis*. Pour Ramus, en effet, la doctrine dialectique doit être le reflet, l'image fidèle, de ce qu'il appelle la «dialectique naturelle», c'est-à-dire la puissance innée à bien raisonner, qu'on peut découvrir en analysant les textes des grands philosophes, orateurs et poètes. Ceux-ci se sont servis de façon exemplaire de leur aptitude naturelle à bien penser; en se basant sur leurs exemples, le dialecticien est sûr d'avoir «adapté l'art à la nature». Voilà pourquoi Ramus accorde, comme Agricola avant lui, une si grande importance aux exemples des orateurs et des poètes, où se découvre la *naturalis consuetudo* à bien raisonner. Mais chez Ramus, l'usage qu'on peut (doit) faire des exemples oratoires et poétiques est ancré dans une théorie philosophique – métaphysique – qui semble annoncer certaines conceptions cartésiennes, et qui va de toute façon beaucoup plus loin que chez Agricola.¹⁵

Voilà aussi pourquoi Ramus souligne que dans la dialectique, la *nature* et la *matière* coïncident, là où dans tous les autres arts elles sont très différentes; par exemple, en médecine, la nature, c'est l'esprit du médecin, mais la matière de la médecine est la santé, les médicaments, etc. Uniquement dans la dialectique l'objet de la recherche est *identique* à l'esprit du chercheur, à son aptitude à bien raisonner.¹⁶

Qu'on compare cette conception avec celle exprimée dans le chapitre consacré à la «matière» de la dialectique dans le *De inventione dialectica* et l'on constatera une fois de plus que l'orientation des deux penseurs est radicalement différente.¹⁷

Par conséquent, lorsqu'on compare la division des arts du *Trivium* chez Agricola et chez Ramus, l'on aurait tort de s'en tenir aux premières apparences.

Il est vrai qu'Agricola, comme Ramus, s'efforce de délimiter pour chaque discipline un terrain propre et exclusif; et qu'il réduit singulièrement le rôle traditionnellement attribué à la rhétorique. Selon Agricola, la grammaire doit codifier le «bon usage» de la langue latine (*emendatio sermonis*), et la rhétorique doit s'occuper exclusivement de l'ornementa-

¹⁴ Ramus, *Rhetoricae distinctiones*, Paris 1549¹, 30; cf. *Animadv. Arist.*, Paris 1548, V, p. 148; Talon, *Comm. Part. or.* de Cicéron, Paris 1551, p. 4. Voir Bruyère, *Méthode et dialectique*, 331-351.

¹⁵ Voir surtout Ramus, *Dialecticae libri duo* (1556), 6-7, comm. de Talon.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, 7.

¹⁷ Agricola, DID-Ph., II, 5; DID-A, II, 6.

tion du discours (*cultus orationis, elocutionis ornatus*);¹⁸ reste, pour la dialectique, la *probabilitas dictionis*. Mais, étant donné qu’Agricola parle, nous l’avons vu, de la dialectique en termes de communication, il inclut dans la dialectique bien des choses qui avaient été traitées dans la rhétorique traditionnelle; et l’on ne s’étonne plus dès lors de trouver dans le commentaire de Phrissemius, à propos du chapitre où Agricola parle de la différence entre dialectique et rhétorique, non pas un éloge de la dialectique, mais un éloge de l’*eloquence* tiré du *De oratore*.¹⁹

La délimitation des arts du *Trivium* effectuée dans l’oeuvre de Ramus est à première vue similaire à celle avancée par Agricola. Comme ce dernier, Ramus accorde à la grammaire le rôle de la codification du «bon usage», et à la rhétorique celui de la codification du langage «éloquent et orné». Reste, pour la dialectique, la codification du «vray et naturel usage» de la raison.²⁰

Mais, à y regarder de plus près, la séparation des trois arts est chez Ramus beaucoup plus radicale, et beaucoup plus élaborée. Pour Ramus, celle-ci avait été la grande affaire dans ses ouvrage extrêmement violents écrits pour combattre la confusion méthodologique qu’il croyait déceler dans les traités rhétoriques de Cicéron et de Quintilien. Selon lui, l’*Institution oratoire* de Quintilien aurait dû s’intituler *Institution grammadialectorique*, tellement Quintilien a confondu les trois arts!²¹

A de nombreux endroits de son oeuvre, Ramus renvoie à ce propos à la loi aristotélicienne *καθ’ αὐτό*, qui réserve à chaque élément de la réalité un domaine théorique propre et exclusif. Ici, nous retrouvons donc ce que j’ai exposé au début, mais du point de vue opposé: selon Ramus, il faut *séparer* les arts au niveau *théorique*, mais s’en servir *concurremment* dans la *pratique*.

Cette prise de position méthodologique rigoureuse a des conséquences évidentes pour l’élaboration de la doctrine dialectique: elle lui prescrit des limites très étroites, beaucoup plus étroites que celles auxquelles Agricola s’était soumis. Si Ramus avait écrit un commentaire sur Agricola, il lui aurait certainement fait subir un même traitement qu’à Quintilien: il aurait appelé *De inventione dialectica* quelque chose comme «*De inventione dialectorica*», ou «*De inventione rhetorelectica*»!

Car pour Ramus, on s’en souvient, la dialectique n’est que l’art de bien raisonner; elle doit codifier uniquement des procédés rationnels. Elle

¹⁸ Agricola, DID-Ph., II, 18, II, 2; cf. II, 12. DID-A, II 25, II, 2; cf. II, 15.

¹⁹ Agricola, DID-Ph., p. 299: *Eloquentiae laus* = Cic. *De orat.* I, 8, 30-2 et II, 8, 33-9, 35. Cf. McNally, «Rudolph Agricola’s *De inventione*», 394; Cogan, «R. Agricola and the Semantic Revolutions», 181sqq., 190sqq.

²⁰ Ramus, *Dialectique* (1555), 61 n.

²¹ Ramus, *Scholae* (1569), col. 381 (rhétor.).

exclut d'emblée tout ce qui a trait à la *communication* oratoire, essentielle dans l'optique d'Agricola.

Dans la dialectique ramusienne, il n'y a donc de place ni pour l' $\eta\thetao\zeta$ de celui qui parle ou écrit, ni pour le $\pi\alpha\thetao\zeta$, c'est-à-dire les 'passions' à exciter dans le cœur de ceux qui écoutent. Or, comme on sait, Agricola traite ces deux aspects dans son ouvrage; et on ne le comprend que trop bien: ceux-ci sont d'une importance capitale pour établir la communication.²²

De la même façon, mais sur un autre plan, il n'y a de place, dans la *Dialectique* de Ramus, que pour une seule *méthode*: celle de l'universalité décroissante, celle qui va du général au particulier. Les exemples antiques montrent, selon Ramus, que c'est là l'unique méthode *naturelle*, «singulière et unique ès doctrines bien instituées», «commune aux orateurs, poètes et tous écrivants». Cette méthode naturelle constitue par conséquent le point culminant de la dialectique «naturelle» que j'ai décrite auparavant.²³

Or, c'est aussi sur l'exemple de «tous écrivants» (antiques) qu'Agricola en était venu à distinguer *plusieurs* méthodes d'exposition, c'est-à-dire plusieurs «dispositions» de matières complexes. On trouve dans le dernier livre du *De inventione dialectica*, après l'exposé concernant les «passions», une série de chapitres consacrés à la disposition qui comporte la célèbre tripartition en *ordre naturel*, *ordre arbitraire* et *ordre artificiel*.²⁴ Comme on le sait, Agricola y distingue les diverses ordonnances possibles d'après les *genres* du discours: «l'exposition» poétique demande un autre arrangement que l'exposition historique, et l'exposition «scolaire» demande un autre arrangement que l'exposition oratoire. Il est clair que *seul* l'ordre d'exposition «scolaire» (*in tradendis artibus*), celle qui va du général au particulier, correspond à la «méthode naturelle» de Ramus.²⁵

Mais avant de poursuivre, il convient de faire trois brèves remarques. D'abord, la théorie des *affectus* et celle de la disposition proviennent directement de la rhétorique traditionnelle; les «passions» ont été pour un Valla autant de preuves de la prédominance de la rhétorique sur la dialectique;²⁶ ensuite, la théorie des passions et de la disposition ont reçu

²² L'*éthos*: Agricola, DID-Ph., III, 2, pp. 331-2; DID-A, III, 2, pp. 382-3 ('color orationis'). Cf. Vasari, «The Masks of Rhetoric», 1-3 + n. 4-6. Les passions: DID-Ph., II, 4, III, 1sqq.; DID-A, II, 4, III, 1sqq. Pour la commodité de l'exposé, j'inclus souvent la délectation dans l'ensemble des 'passions'. Cf. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, 140sqq.

²³ Voir Ramus, *Dialectique* (1555), 115, 145, 147. Cf. Bruyère, *Méthode et dialectique*, I, iv.

²⁴ Agricola, DID-Ph., III, 6sqq.; DID-A, III, 8sqq.

²⁵ Agricola, DID-Ph., III, 8; DID-A, III, 9, pp. 418-9. Sur l'*«expositio scholastica»*, cf. l'*Epitome* de Latomus, Cologne 1530, fo. [H8vo], Bâle 1536, p. 135.

²⁶ L. Valla, *Dialect. disput.*, dans *Opera omnia*, I, 693. Cf. McNally, «'Rector et dux populi'», 171.

un relief tout à fait particulier dans l'*Epitomé* de Latomus, qui réduit pratiquement le troisième livre d'Agricola à ces deux composantes et les met en valeur à l'aide de schémas récapitulatifs;²⁷ enfin, Agricola lui-même, et Alard d'Amsterdam à sa suite, connectent de façon explicite la «déléction» et l'ordre «artificiel» observé par beaucoup de poètes.²⁸

Ces trois remarques me conduisent à la dernière partie de mon exposé. J'ai dit auparavant que dans la *Dialectique* de Ramus il n'y a pas de place pour les «passions», et qu'on n'y trouve décrit qu'une seule «méthode», celle qui est appelée «méthode naturelle» ou «méthode de nature». Il s'agira à présent de nuancer et de compléter ces affirmations.

Il est exact de dire que les «passions» sont absentes dans ce qui constitue l'essentiel de la *Dialectique* ramusienne, à savoir les définitions et les divisions. Il n'y a donc pas de chapitre spécial consacré aux passions, il n'y a pas de place pour elles au niveau théorique général. Mais cela ne veut pas dire qu'elles soient totalement absentes dans le texte de la *Dialectique*; car outre la trame théorique – les définitions et les divisions, les subdivisions en «espèces» – il y a encore les *exemples*, et le commentaire de ces exemples.

Ainsi, comme exemple de l'argument tiré de la «cause finale», Ramus cite un passage particulièrement «véhément» du discours cicéronien *Pro Ligario* et commente:

Cicéron usa de cest argument en si grande véhémence que César, juge et partie en ceste cause, comme ravy et mis hors du sens non seulement changea de couleur mais aussi laissa tomber quelque libelle qu'il tenoit en ses mains, comme récite Plutarque en la *Vie de Cicéron*.²⁹

Apparaissent clairement ici les limitations imposées par la rigueur méthodologique de Ramus: étant donné que la *Dialectique* doit rendre compte uniquement de procédés rationnels, ce n'est que dans les exemples, c'est-à-dire dans l'application *pratique* de ces procédés qu'il lui est permis de parler des effets produits par l'emploi de tel «lieu».

Or, l'étude des nombreux commentaires de Ramus sur les discours de Cicéron montre qu'il a une vision très mécaniste de l'excitation des passions. A la fin de chacun de ces commentaires, Ramus ajoute un «précis d'analyse dialectique et rhétorique». Les dernières lignes de ces précis sont souvent consacrées à la question de savoir *pour quelle raison* (*quamobrem, διότι*) Cicéron a su plaire à son public (*delectare*), et pour

²⁷ Latomus, *Epitome* (1530), fo. G2vo-fin; (1536), 106-fin. Voir les 3 *tabulae*, *ibid.* Cf. Vasoli, *La dialettica*, 259. Ramus a probablement connu l'*Epitome*.

²⁸ Agricola, DID-Ph., pp. 165, 357, 359-60; DID-A, pp. 205, 415-6, 416-7. Cf. les 'cross-references' d'Alard, *ibid.* pp. 206, 415, 420.

²⁹ Ramus, *Dialectique* (1555), 64-5. Plutarque, *Cic.* 39.

quelle raison il a ému son public (*movere*). Eh bien, répond Ramus, c'est simple: c'est la somme des procédés dialectiques et rhétoriques mis en oeuvre par Cicéron, ceux-là mêmes que je viens d'énumérer dans mon précis, qui a produit *automatiquement* le plaisir, l'émotion ou les deux à la fois. Autrement dit, les arguments, les tropes et les figures, la façon de prononcer (*actio*) sont autant de *causes* qui ont produit l'*effet* agréable ou pathétique.³⁰ Par conséquent, c'est uniquement en étudiant la *pratique*, l'usage que les grands orateurs et poètes ont fait des arguments et des figures que le novice devra acquérir les moyens propres à exciter les passions. Dans les théories dialectique et rhétorique elles-mêmes il n'y a pas lieu d'en parler.³¹ Nous sommes ici très loin de l'approche d'Agricola.

Je pourrais approfondir la question des «passions» chez Ramus en me tournant vers ces ouvrages déjà mentionnés dans lesquels Ramus attaque les traités de rhétorique de Cicéron et de Quintilien. L'étude de ces textes hyper-critiques montrerait que Ramus hésite constamment quant à la place qu'il faudrait leur accorder, qu'il désigne tantôt l'invention dialectique seule, tantôt celle-ci en combinaison avec l'élocution rhétorique, tantôt la prononciation comme le moyen le plus propre à l'excitation – virtuelle – des passions. Il lui arrive aussi, soit de dire que la délectation et les passions ne ressortissent sous aucun art en particulier, qu'elles sont «communes» à tous les arts, soit de poser qu'il faut en premier lieu avoir recours à la philosophie éthique, où les passions sont traitées pour elles-mêmes; dans cette dernière remarque nous retrouvons d'ailleurs son souci de la séparation des domaines de la connaissance...³²

Mais je reviens à ma seconde affirmation, à propos de la *méthode* ramusienne qui serait, on s'en souvient, «unique» et «universelle». Dans son étude récente et si impressionnante sur la méthode et la dialectique dans l'oeuvre de La Ramée, Mme Nelly Bruyère s'est efforcée de montrer qu'en effet, il n'est question que d'une seule méthode dans le système de Ramus, et que la *méthode de prudence*, qui figure dans la *Dialectique* à la suite de la méthode de nature, ne se distingue pas essentiellement de celle-ci.³³

Après les études très critiques de W. Ong et de W. Risse, il était sans doute grand temps d'approcher le phénomène ramiste avec un maximum de sympathie en de bienveillance. Mais je dois avouer qu'en ce qui

³⁰ Ramus, Comm. *De lege agr.*, Paris 1552, 119, 131; Comm. *In Catilinam*, Paris 1553, 43, 73-4, 110, 141.

³¹ Il arrive à Ramus de parler des passions dans la *Rhetorica*, mais toujours de façon 'dérivée'. Ce n'est que dans la dernière version de l'ouvrage qu'il en parle directement.

³² Voir Ramus, *Scholae*, cols. 257, 269, 274, 275, 276, 277, 285, 359 (rhétor.). Cf. Ramus, Comm. Cic. *De opt. gen. or.*, Paris 1557, fo. 6ro (ad 2,5), fo. 5ro. Une étude sérieuse devrait inclure également le comm. de Talon sur le *De oratore* (1553) et le *Ciceronianus* de Ramus (1557).

³³ Bruyère, *Méthode et dialectique*, 100, 123-4 + n. 1, 139, 170-2, etc.

concerne la question de la place et du statut de la méthode de prudence dans le système de Ramus, je me range du côté des censeurs.³⁴

A mon avis, Ramus n'a pas réussi à intégrer la méthode de prudence dans son système dialectique. Car cette méthode consiste précisément dans l'abandon du schéma rigoureux de la méthode d'exposition «scolaire» pour des raisons de «prudence», c'est-à-dire pour des raisons *oratoires, persuasives*. Or il me semble que si l'on abandonne la disposition qui va du général au particulier – la disposition de l'universalité décroissante – on admet du même coup que la méthode de nature n'est ni «unique», ni «universelle»!

Voici le début de l'exposé concernant la «méthode de prudence»:

S'ensuyt la méthode de prudence en laquelle les choses [précèdent qui sont] non pas du tout et absolument plus notoires (= connues), mais néanmoins plus convenables à celluy qu'il fault enseigner, et plus probables à l'induire et amener où nous prétendons.³⁵

Il me paraît hors de doute qu'ici, la rhétorique fait son retour par la porte de derrière: souvent, en effet, il est plus «prudent» d'abandonner la voie de la démonstration rationnelle et d'emprunter celle qui correspond à l'*opinion* du public, c'est-à-dire de faire appel au *plaisir* et aux *passions* de l'auditoire.

Ramus a d'ailleurs été conscient du fait qu'il se trouve ici très près du domaine rhétorique. Dans son commentaire de ce passage, Omer Talon, le «sosie intellectuel» de Ramus, renvoie en premier lieu au *De oratore* de Cicéron, et un peu plus loin «aux traités de rhétorique, là où l'on traite de l'excitation des *passions*».³⁶ En outre, dans le texte de la *Dialectique* française même, Ramus affirme:

Et bref, tous les tropes et figures d'élocution, toutes les grâces d'action, qui est la Rhétorique entière, vraye et séparée de la Dialectique, ne servent d'autre chose sinon pour conduire ce fascheux et rétif auditeur qui nous est proposé en ceste méthode [de prudence]...³⁷

La rhétorique, «vraie et séparée de la dialectique...». J'ai dit plus haut ce que je pense de telle affirmation. J'insiste pourtant sur ce point, car, en effet, *tous* les mots-clés du passage sur la méthode de prudence se retrouvent *tels quels* dans les chapitres qu'Agricola avait consacrés à la délectation, aux passions, à l'ordre «artificiel» dont se servent les poètes lorsqu'ils font commencer leurs ouvrages *in medias res*. Comme Agricola,

³⁴ Voir Ong, *Ramus, Method*, 252-4; Risse, *Logik der Neuzeit* I, 148-9.

³⁵ Ramus, *Dialectique* (1555), 150.

³⁶ Ramus, *Dialecticae libri duo* (1556), 255 = Cic. *De orat.* II, 76, 307; *ibid.*, 272.

³⁷ Ramus, *Dialectique* (1555), 152. Cf. Ong, *Ramus, Method*, 254.

Ramus cite en exemple l'*Enéide* de Virgile et une comédie de Térence, comme *Agricola*, il fait l'éloge de la méthode «indirecte» de Socrate, etc. etc.

Il serait trop long d'en faire ici la démonstration détaillée; j'en ai fourni les éléments ailleurs.³⁸

On pourrait conclure en disant que c'est dans cette dernière partie de la *Dialectique* de Ramus que la «prudence» de Rodolphe *Agricola* se montre pour ainsi dire en creux. *Agricola* nous a légué un système très flexible, un système où, dans l'optique ramusienne, la confusion entre rhétorique et dialectique est à son comble. Mais Ramus lui-même n'a pas su rester fidèle à ses propres exigences méthodologiques: dans sa *Dialectique* à lui, on observe un *retour du refoulé* rhétorique qui est en même temps un retour à l'approche, et même au texte d'*Agricola*.

Ce retour, révélant une faille dans le système méticuleux de Ramus, démontre par contraste la prévoyance et la maîtrise de l'auteur du traité *De l'invention dialectique*. *Agricola* n'a jamais voulu séparer la raison et le discours, *ratio* et *oratio*. Il n'a jamais voulu séparer non plus le discours rationnel du discours «passionnel». D'emblée, il a tenu à combiner les bénéfices de la logique et de la rhétorique dans une approche aux articulations fort cohérentes, basée sur l'idée de communication.³⁹ La faille dans le système fermé de Ramus met ainsi en lumière les mérites de l'*œuvre ouverte* de mon compatriote néerlandais.

³⁸ Voir mon étude *Rhétorique et poétique au XVI^e siècle en France*, 186 n. 30. Cf. Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, 327 + n. 45 (Ramus et Sturm).

³⁹ Cf. McNally, «Dux illa directrixque artium», 344, 347.

F. MULLER

LE *DE INVENTIONE DIALECTICA* D'AGRICOLA
DANS LA TRADITION RHÉTORIQUE D'ARISTOTE
À PORT-ROYAL

Une partie importante des élucubrations d'Agricola – c'est-à-dire une partie importante du fruit de ses veilles studieuses – porte sur «l'invention dialectique». Avant de replacer Agricola dans la tradition logique et rhétorique, afin de mieux cerner son originalité – ce qui est l'objet même de notre exposé – il est indispensable de préciser le sens qu'avaient les mots «dialectique» et «invention» chez les philosophes qui ont précédé Agricola ainsi que chez ceux qui l'ont suivi.

Pour Aristote, la science se divise en théorique, pratique et poétique; la théorique (ou: théorétique) se subdivise à son tour en trois: mathématique, physique, théologie, tout comme la science pratique: éthique, politique, économique. La logique, qu'Aristote appelle «analytique», ne fait pas, à proprement parler, partie de la science: elle n'en est que l'outil – *δογματος* – ou la propédeutique. Quant à la dialectique, elle porte sur l'opinion – *δοξα* – et non sur la recherche de la vérité, et en tant que telle elle ne saurait être une science.

Les Stoïciens intègrent la logique dans la classification des sciences et la divisent en deux:

- rhétorique, ou *oratio continua*
- dialectique, ou *oratio inter interrogantem et respondentem*.

La dialectique se subdivise à son tour en grammaire et en logique proprement dite. Les trois disciplines de ce qui allait devenir au Moyen Age le *Trivium*, c'est-à-dire le premier cycle des études universitaires, sont donc clairement décrites dès le II^e siècle. Shyreswood, au XIII^e siècle, les présente de la façon suivante:

sermocialis scientia ... tres habet partes:
– grammaticam, que docet recte loqui,
– et rhetoricam, que docet ornate loqui,
– et logicam, que docet vere loqui.¹

Pour cerner au plus près le «parler vrai», les philosophes avaient décomposé le raisonnement en ses éléments constitutifs et agencé les ouvrages logiques d'Aristote conformément à la progression même de l'inférence: ils partaient des termes (les *Catégories*), qui, réunis, consti-

¹ Shyreswood, *Introductiones in logicam*.

tuent la proposition (*Peri Hermeneias*); la séquence de trois propositions forme le syllogisme (*Premiers Analytiques*). Ces trois ouvrages formaient ce que la tradition appelle «logique générale»; à cette logique générale on ajoutait la logique «spéciale», c'est-à-dire l'apodictique, qui traite du vrai nécessaire (*Seconds Analytiques*), et la dialectique, qui traite du vrai probable (*Topiques*).

Agricola bouleverse complètement cette séquence traditionnelle: il divise en effet l'ensemble de sa matière – la dialectique – en invention et en jugement; dès le début de son ouvrage, au titre significatif, il écrit:

Hanc partem excogitandi vel medii vel argumenti, vocant dialectici inventionis. Altera est pars quae judicandi vocatur.²

Il est le premier parmi les modernes à envisager la dialectique sous l'angle essentiellement rhétorique. Chez Aristote, la rhétorique était complètement assimilée à la dialectique; en revanche, chez Agricola la dialectique est subordonnée à la rhétorique (et non à la logique).

Il semblerait donc que le terme de «dialectique» renvoie d'abord au contenu des *Topiques* d'Aristote; en fait, pour les Humanistes, la terminologie n'était pas fixée; c'est ainsi que Pacius emploie indifféremment «logique» ou «dialectique»; que Melanchthon appelle «dialectique» à la fois l'analytique (au sens aristotélicien) et les topiques. Quant à Ramus, il reprend la dichotomie de la logique d'Agricola et réunit les topiques, c'est-à-dire l'invention, aux catégories, dont le titre primitif aurait précisément été les *Protopiques*, et les place avant les Analytiques, donc avant le jugement. Jungius enfin, dont l'ouvrage essentiel, *La logique de Hambourg*, parut en 1638, englobe sous «logique» la logique proprement dite (l'analytique), la rhétorique et la grammaire (*Prolégomènes*, 14); mais par «dialectique» il entend bien, comme Agricola et à la suite d'Agricola, la seule matière des *Topiques*.

Après ces quelques précisions épistémologiques, on discerne mieux à quel point le *De inventione dialectica* rompt avec la tradition; cette rupture se fait sur trois fronts: dans la définition du *topos*, dans la division des lieux et enfin dans la description de quelques lieux précis.

*La définition du *topos**

On a vu que pour Agricola, l'invention constitue la première partie de la dialectique et il la définit comme «la partie qui consiste à trouver le moyen ou l'argument» (v. *supra*). – Mais qu'est-ce qu'un argument? La

² Agricola, DID (1539), p. 8.

définition de Cicéron était: *rationem quae rei dubiae faciat fidem*,³ c'est-à-dire ce qui apporte la certitude à une chose douteuse. Les Scolastiques reprennent mot à mot cette formule, en précisant toutefois qu'il s'agit bien de l'invention, c'est-à-dire de la découverte du moyen terme:

id est, medium ostendens conclusionem quae debet confirmari per argumentum. Est enim conclusio argumento vel argumentis approbata proposicio.⁴

Si cette définition n'est guère contestée, il n'en va pas de même avec la définition du *topos*. Pour Cicéron comme pour Quintilien, le lieu est *le siège de l'argument*.⁵ Ce disant, Cicéron et Quintilien explicitent une métaphore spatiale – le lieu – par une autre métaphore spatiale, le siège. Mais qu'entendent-ils exactement par «siège»? Deux autres passages, l'un dans l'*Orator*, l'autre dans le *De oratore*,⁶ montrent clairement que Cicéron interprète les «*topoi*» aristotéliciens comme des termes et non comme des propositions; or cette erreur d'interprétation est capitale pour l'avenir. Ce détournement du sens premier (aristotélicien) de la notion de «*topos*» n'avait d'ailleurs pas échappé à Boèce, qui écrit à ce sujet: *Tullius vero locos non maximas propositiones, sed earum continentis differentias vocat*.⁷ En effet, Aristote présente toujours ses topiques sous la forme de propositions. Comme plus de deux siècles séparent Cicéron d'Aristote, il est très probable que ce glissement du sens du *topos* se soit fait progressivement, au sein même de l'enseignement du Lycée; à l'époque où Cicéron écrit son traité, les *Topiques* d'Aristote étaient largement ignorés, même des philosophes, comme Cicéron le rapporte au début de ses *Topiques*; la doctrine communément enseignée n'était vraisemblablement plus aristotélicienne. Thémistius, au IV^e siècle, reprend la définition d'Aristote, tout en conservant celle de Cicéron; il admet de ce fait une double définition du lieu, à la fois proposition et terme. Comme Thémistius ne nous est connu que par le *De differentiis topicis* de Boèce, il est difficile de faire une distinction entre les deux auteurs, et pour la commodité de l'exposé, nous les assimilerons l'un à l'autre. Voici comment Boèce rend compte de cette double définition: *Argumenti enim sedes partim propositio maxima intellegi potest, partim maxima propositionis differentia*.⁸ La proposition maxime (ou la «maxime») est donc en quelque sorte un axiome dialectique.

³ Cicéron, *Topica* 8.

⁴ Petrus Hispanus, *Tractatus*, 58, § 4.

⁵ Cicéron, *Topica* 8.

⁶ Cicéron, *Orator* 14; *De oratore* II, 147.

⁷ Boèce, *In topica Ciceronis commentaria* I, Migne 1054B.

⁸ Boèce, *De differentiis topicis*, Migne 1185A.

Cette double définition du lieu est maintenue sans changement pendant tout le Moyen Age: Shyreswood, comme Pierre d'Espagne, se contente de reproduire le texte de Boèce.⁹

Agricola se démarque complètement de ses prédecesseurs et rompt la longue chaîne de la tradition; c'est lui en effet qui substitue définitivement la doctrine de Cicéron à celle d'Aristote, c'est-à-dire qu'il abandonne sciemment le lieu maxime, énoncé sous forme de proposition, au profit du lieu énoncé par un terme:

Boëtium, quique post eum scripserunt de locis, singulis locis addidisse quandam (ut vulgo loquimur) maximam, id est, pronunciatum quoddam, una sententia multa complexum, cui indubitata sit fides: ut, de quocunque definitio dicitur, de eo definitum. De quocunque species, de eo genus. Quod non faciendum mihi, non ideo, quia id Aristoteles et Cicero non fecissent, putavi: sed quia in nullum id usum fieri arbitrabar. ... Adde, quod si quis exacte et penitus cognitam habuerit locorum naturam, nihil erunt ei opus hae maximae.¹⁰

Ce texte d'Agricola est capital pour trois raisons: d'abord il constitue un témoignage particulièrement éloquent de l'incompréhension des lieux aristotéliciens, mis ici sur le même plan que les lieux de Cicéron, et interprétés comme des mots; ensuite il attribue à Boèce l'origine de la maxime, alors que Boèce ne fait que reprendre le lieu aristotélicien, énoncé sous la forme d'une proposition; enfin ce texte est important parce qu'il exercera une influence considérable non seulement sur tous les dialecticiens-rhétateurs de la Renaissance, dont le plus illustre représentant est Ramus, mais aussi sur d'authentiques aristotéliciens comme Melanchthon; celui-ci énonce en effet les lieux sous la forme de termes («genre, espèce, cause» etc. ...) et remplace les maximes par des «règles». Seul Pacius garde ses distances par rapport à la doctrine d'Agricola et

⁹ Shyreswood, *Introductiones in logicam*, 57: «Dividitur autem locus sic: alius maxima, alius differentia maxime. Locus maxima est nota propositio et communis multa continens et confirmans argumenta, qualis hec est: de quocunque predicatur species, et genus. Differentia maxime est, quo differunt maxime ad invicem, quale est hoc: quod dico genus, et hoc, quod dico species». Petrus Hispanus, *Tractatus V*, «De locis»: «Locus dividitur in locus maximam et locum differentiam maxime. Locus maxima idem est quod ipsa maxima. Maxima autem est propositio qua non est altera prior idest notior, ut: omne totum maius est sua parte, de quocunque predicatur diffinitio, et diffinitum, de quocunque predicatur species, et genus. Locus differentia maxime est illud quo una maxima differt ab altera. Verbi gratia, iste due maxime: de quocunque predicatur diffinitio, et diffinitum, de quocunque predicatur species, et genus differunt per terminos ex quibus componuntur; una enim componitur ex 'genere' et 'specie', et alia vero ex 'diffinitione' et 'diffinito'; unde isti termini simplices dicuntur differentie maxime. Sed tam locus maxima quam locus differentia maxime dicitur locus; quia uteque confort firmitudinem argumento».

¹⁰ Agricola, DID (1539), 175-176.

rend compte avec une grande précision des différents sens du mot «lieu».¹¹

La division des lieux

La première division des lieux remonte à la *Rhétorique* d'Aristote; elle a été reprise par Cicéron, une première fois dans les *Partitiones oratoriae*, une seconde fois dans les *Topiques*, et par Quintilien dans le *De institutione oratoria*. Le tableau suivant présente les diverses désignations utilisées par ces trois auteurs pour opposer les deux genres de lieux:

ARISTOTE:

Rhet. I, 2 1355 b 35
Ἐντεχνοί

Ἐτεχνοί

CICÉRON:

Partitiones oratoriae, II, 5:
in re ipsa insitis

II, 6:
sine arte; remota

Topiques:

II, 8 et XIX, 72:
in eo ipso de agitur
haerent

II, 8 et IV, 24:
alii adsumuntur extrinsecus
IV, 24:
ex auctoritate; artis expertes

QUINTILIEN:

De institutione oratoria V, 11:
artificiales

inartificiales

Ce tableau appelle deux remarques:

– C'est Quintilien qui, traduisant Aristote, utilise pour la première fois le couple de termes antonymiques qui s'imposera à tous ses successeurs;

– pour désigner les Ἐτεχνοί, Cicéron emploie l'adverbe «extrinsecus»; ce terme sera repris par Boèce pour traduire *on ne sait quel mot grec de Thémistius*, mais Boèce l'utilise dans un sens différent; il en résulte, dans la rhétorique de l'Ecole, une classification nouvelle des lieux; en outre, à la bipartition antique, Thémistius et Boèce opposent une tripartition des lieux, mais des seuls lieux artificiels:

Omnes igitur loci, id est maximarum differentiae propositionum, aut ab his ducantur necesse est terminis qui in quaestione sunt positi, praedicato scilicet atque subiecto, aut extrinsecus asumantur, aut horum mediis qui inter utrosque versantur.¹²

¹¹ Pacius, *In Aristotelis topica Commentarius analyticus*. In: *Porphyrii Isagogen et Aristotelis Organum, Commentarius analyticus* (1597), 349.

¹² Boèce, *De differentiis topicis*, Migne 1186D.

Quant aux lieux inartificiels, ils sont partiellement intégrés dans les lieux «extrinsecus».

Thémistius et Boèce divisent par ailleurs le premier membre de cette tripartition en deux, et opposent les lieux qui proviennent de la substance («*a substantia*») à ceux qui accompagnent la substance (*ab his quae substantiam eorum consequuntur*). Shyreswood et Pierre d'Espagne reproduisent exactement la même tripartition:

De locis intrinsecis

De locis extrinsecis

De locis mediis

et divisent également en deux les «*intrinseci*» («*a substantia*» et «*a concomitantibus substantiam*»). Avec Agricola, on retrouve par réaction contre l'enseignement de l'Ecole une bipartition des lieux, mais qui n'est en rien aristotélicienne; cependant le poids de la scolastique, malgré les efforts d'Agricola, se fait toujours sentir; ainsi par la division qu'Agricola établit entre les lieux internes et les lieux externes;¹³ il supprime les lieux intermédiaires (qui retrouvent en fait leur place dans les deux lieux restants), mais il maintient la subdivision scolastique entre les lieux qui sont dans la substance et ceux qui sont autour de la substance.¹⁴

Cette opposition entre lieux externes et lieux internes, Jungius l'emprunte directement à Agricola; mais Jungius limite cette opposition aux seuls lieux réels, alors que chez Agricola cette opposition est première. Melanchthon divise les lieux en lieux de personnes et en lieux de choses; il fait remarquer que les premiers sont généralement omis par les dialecticiens; pourtant, curieusement, il en a très probablement lui-même emprunté la matière à Agricola, qui dans le Second Livre traite de ce qu'il appelle «les attributs des personnes et des choses»; Agricola a suivi ici Cicéron, Quintilien et Boèce. Il s'agit de lieux concernant la patrie, le sexe, les parents, l'éducation, les moeurs, etc. ... Quant aux lieux des choses, Melanchthon les énumère sans y introduire la moindre classification. – Signalons enfin qu'Arnauld et Nicole ont reproduit, en la citant nommément, la classification de Johann Clauberg, qui n'envisage que les lieux artificiels (cf. tableau, pp. 290-291).

¹³ Agricola, DID (1539), p. 22: «*Hanc itaque faciamus primam divisionem locorum, ut alii interni sint, alii externi*».

¹⁴ Agricola, DID (1539), p. 22: «*Rursus ea quae in rebus sint, alia in substantia earum, alia circa substantiam sunt*».

Examen de quelques lieux

On remarque d'abord qu'une bipartition (Interni/Externi) succède à la tripartition traditionnelle; cette bipartition se maintiendra chez tous les successeurs d'Agricola. En revanche, il conserve la distinction entre les lieux «*in substantia*» et «*circa substantiam*», suivi en cela par Jungius. Il réintroduit le propre, qu'Aristote avait déjà présenté, mais que Boèce avait supprimé; il est suivi ici par Melanchthon et Clauberg. Mais les modifications les plus importantes portent sur les causes. Les quatre causes décrites par Aristote et les Scolastiques à la suite de Boèce sont traditionnellement réunis par les logiciens dans un même chapitre et font l'objet d'une présentation globale. Agricola introduit une division à l'intérieur des quatre causes: il range la cause matérielle et la cause formelle dans le lieu des parties (lieux internes), réservant aux lieux externes la cause efficiente et la cause finale. – Il est clair que Jungius, qui place les causes à l'articulation des lieux internes (cause matérielle et formelle) et des lieux externes (cause efficiente et finale) avait en tête, sinon sous les yeux, la classification d'Agricola. Les autres modifications apportées par Agricola sont mineures, mais méritent néanmoins d'être relevées. C'est ainsi qu'il élimine définitivement le lieu de la génération et de la corruption ainsi que le lieu de l'antécédent et du conséquent: ces deux derniers lieux ne sont en effet pour Agricola que des formes d'argumentation que l'on peut trouver dans tous les lieux; cependant seul Ramus se souviendra de la leçon. Agricola procède de même pour le sujet et l'adjoint. Enfin pour le lieu des opposés, qui a reçu dans l'histoire de la rhétorique plusieurs dénominations, Agricola cite clairement ses sources: il suivra Boèce.

L'examen rapide de ces quelques lieux suffit à montrer qu'Agricola se démarque sensiblement de ses prédécesseurs et que lui-même exercera une influence décisive sur tous ceux qui, après lui, entreprendront de présenter l'antique matière issue des *Topiques* d'Aristote; à ce titre Agricola occupe, à l'orée de l'âge moderne, une place capitale dans l'histoire des lieux (cf. tableau pp. 288-289).

Agricola avait parfaitement conscience des bouleversements qu'il introduisait dans la dialectique traditionnelle et il revendique pleinement cette originalité: *Ut enim traderem locos alia distinctione et ordine, quam sunt ab aliis ante me tractati, res ipsa mihi persuasit.*¹⁵ – En revanche, il ne pouvait pas mesurer les conséquences de ces bouleversements. S'il est bien le premier à gauchir la logique pour en faire un arsenal rhétorique, inaugurant ainsi ce que le Professeur Risse appelle la tradition des logiciens-rhéteurs¹⁶

¹⁵ Agricola, DID (1539), p. 78.

¹⁶ Risse, *Die Logik der Neuzeit* I, 14.

Les lieux des opposés d'Aristote à Port-Royal

Aristote (1)	Cicéron (2)	Quintilien (3)	Boëce (4)	Shyreswood (5)	Pierre d'Espagne (6)
Διατίκειμένα	A contrario	Ex pugnabitus	Ex oppositis	Ab oppositis	Ab oppositis
ταχρός τι έναντια (blanc et noir)	ut duplum simpulum adversa (ex codem genere)		a relativis oppositis a contrariis	a relative oppositis a contrariis	(id.) (id.)
στέρησις καὶ ξένις (cécité et vue)	privantia		ab oppositis secundum habitum et privationem	a private oppositis	(id.)
χαράσσωσι/ἀπόφασις (affirmation et négation d'un jugement)	negantia (si hoc est, illud non est)		ab oppositis secundum affirmationem et negationem	a contradictorie oppositis	(id.)

(1) *Cat.*, 10; *Mét.*, 10(2) *Top.*, XI, 47 à 49(3) *Inst. or.*, V, 10, 74(4) *De diff. top.*, Migne, 1191 B-D(5) *Inst. log.*, p. 70-71. – L'exemple d'opposés contradictoires que cite Shyreswood, *homo est risibilis, non homo non est risibilis* est une contraposition; Melanchthon se souviendra de la leçon (cf. *Evolutio*, p. 701)(6) *Tractatus*, p. 71 à 73.

Agricola (7)	Melanchthon (8)	Ramus (9)	Dietericus (10)	Jungius (11)	Port-Royal (12)
Repugnancia	A pugnantibus	Opposita	Dissentanea	Dissentanea	Opposés
<i>Opposita</i> «unum unis»			OPPOSITA		
– relata		– <i>Contraria</i> «unum ab uno»	– <i>Contraria</i>	– <i>Opposita</i>	
– contraria		– <i>affirmata</i>	– <i>affirmata</i>	– <i>affirmata</i>	
		– relata	– relata	– relative	relatifs
		– adversa	– adversa	– contraria	contraires
				– mediatia	
				– immediata	
				– <i>negata</i>	
				– <i>negantia</i>	
				– privantia	privatifs
				– privativa	
				– opposita	
				– contradictoria	contradictoires
				– contradictentia	
				– <i>Repugnanta</i> «unum a pluribus»	
				DIVERSA	
<i>Differencia</i> «uni plura»		– A disparatis		– <i>Disparata</i> «unum pluribus»	
		– Inversio		– disparata tantum	
				– repugnanta	

(7) *De invent. dialect.*, p. 155(8) *Erotemata*, p. 687 à 704(9) *Dialecticae*, p. 48 à 60(10) *Inst. dial. lib. I*, p. 115 à 150 (cf. texte latin de la *Logica*, note p. 323)(11) *Logica Hamburgensis*, V, XXIII, p. 323(12) *La Logique*, III, XVIII, p. 240

Tableau comparatif de la classification des lieux chez divers auteurs

Themistius - Boèce IVe (Ve) (1)	Shyreswood (XIIIe) (2)	Pierre d'Espagne (XIIIe) (3)	Agricola (1480) 1515 (4)
IN QUAESTIONE	DE LOCIS INTRINSECIS	DE LOCIS INTRINSECIS	INTERNI
<i>a substantia</i> - diffinitio et descriptio - nominis interpretatio	<i>a substantia</i> - a diffinitione - a descriptione - a nominis interpretatione	<i>a substantia</i> - a diffinitione et descriptio - a nominis interpretatione	<i>in substantia</i> - definitio - genus - species - proprium - totum - partes - conjugata
<i>ab his quae substantiam consequuntur</i> - a toto - ex partibus - a causis - ab effectibus - a corruptionibus - ab usibus - a communiter accidentibus	<i>a concomitantibus substantiam</i> - a genere sive a toto universalis - a specie - a toto integrali - a causis - a generatione - a corruptione - ab usibus - a communiter accidentibus	<i>a concomitantibus substantiam</i> - a toto universalis sive a genere - a parte sive a specie - a causa - a generatione - a corruptione - ab usibus - a communiter accidentibus	<i>circa substantiam</i> - adjacentia - actus - subjecta
EXTRINSECIS	DE LOCIS EXTRINSECIS	DE LOCIS EXTRINSECUS	EXTERNI
- ex rei judicio - ex similibus - a maiore - a minore - a proportione - ex oppositis - ex transumptione	- ab auctoritate - a simili - a maiori - a minori - a proportione - ab oppositis - a private oppositis - a contradictorie oppositis - a relative opp. - a transumptione	- ab oppositis - a maiori - a minori - a simili - a proportione - a transumptione - ab auctoritate	- cognata - efficiens causa - finis evenia - effecta - destinata - applicata - locus - tempus - connexa - accidentia - contingentia - nomen rei - pronunciata - comparata - similia - repugnantia - opposita - differentia
MEDIIS LOCI	DE LOCIS MEDIIS	DE LOCIS MEDIIS	
- ex casu - ex conjugatis - ex divisione	- a conjugatis - a casibus - a divisione	- a conjugatis - a casibus - a divisione	

(1) *De diff. top.*, Lib II, Migne, *Patrologiae*, Tomus LXIV, p. 1186 D à 1194 B.(2) *Introductiones*, p. 56 à 74.(3) *Tractatus*, p. 60 à 77.(4) *De inventione dialectica*, p. 175.

Melanchthon 1547 (5)	Ramus 1556 (6)	Jungius 1638 (7)	Clauberg-Port Royal 1658 1662 (8)
<p>LOCI PERSONARUM</p> <p>Patria, Sexus, parentes, educatio, mores etc.</p> <p>LOCI RERUM</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Definitio - Genus - Species - Differentia, - Proprium - Etymologia, Nomen - Coniugata, Casus - Totum, Partes - Divisio - Causae - Effectus - Antecedentia - Consequentia - Ab absurdo - Ab necessario - Ab impossibili - Adiuncta - Connexa, Circumstantiae - Communiter accidentia - Similia - Paria - Ex maiore - Ex minore - A proportione - Pugnantia - Disparata - Signa - Exempla Autoritas, Testimonia 	<p>ARTIFICIALES</p> <p><i>Prima</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> causae – finis et – forme effecta – efficiens – materia – subjecta et adjuncta – opposita – comparata paria maius minus comparatio in qualitate <p><i>De primis orta</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Nomen <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · notatio · conjugatio – Distributio – Definitio – Descriptio <p>INARTIFICIALES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> = testimonium: divinum humanum 	<p>ARTIFICIALES</p> <p><i>notionales</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – genus – species – universale – definitio et descriptio <p><i>reales:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> interni – totum et partes – causa interna – materia – forma externi <p>conjuncti</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – causa externa – efficiens – finalis – { antecedens – consequens – concomitens <p>disjuncti</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – paria – majore/minore – similia/dissimilia – dissentanea <p><i>verbales</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – conjugata – notationes <p>INARTIFICIALES</p> <p>Testimonium</p>	<p>LIEUX DE GRAMMAIRE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – étymologies – dérivés <p>LIEUX DE LOGIQUE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – termes universels – genres – espèce – différence – propre – accident – définition – division <p>LIEUX DE MÉTAPHYSIQUE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – causes – effets – tout – parties – opposés

(5) *Erotemata*, p. 659 et 653.

(6) *Dialecticae*, p. 13 à 103.

(7) *Logica Hamburgensis*, p. 265 à 339.

(8) *La Logique*, III, XVIII, p. 237 à 241.

– au demeurant plus rhéteurs que logiciens –, il va sans dire que la logique n'a rien gagné à cette évolution. En effet, cette logique rhétorique et littéraire, fondée comme toute logique jusqu'au XIX^e siècle sur Aristote, se singularisait cependant par une critique parfois sévère du texte même des *Topiques*, auquel ces logiciens-rhéteurs reprochent sa longueur, son obscurité et sa confusion; ils lui préféraient la brièveté, la clarté, la simplicité et l'élégance des *Topiques* de Cicéron – qui devenait ainsi, notamment chez Agricola, mais aussi chez Ramus, un logicien, ce que Cicéron non seulement n'a jamais été, mais n'a jamais prétendu être...

Si l'on prend à présent un peu de hauteur pour examiner l'évolution de ces matières dans leur ensemble, on arrive au constat suivant: le centre d'intérêt de la partie de la logique qui suit la syllogistique s'est déplacé en un siècle de la dialectique (c'est-à-dire des topiques) vers l'apodictique (la méthode scientifique). Quelques repères significatifs illustreront ici notre propos:

– 1547: MELANCHTHON, très scolastique sur ce point, traite longuement des tropes, qui occupent, avec la sophistique, toute la quatrième et dernière partie de ses *Erotemata Dialectices*, alors qu'il ne consacre que neuf pages à la démonstration scientifique (qui est d'ailleurs intégrée aux *Topiques*).

– A la fin du XVI^e siècle, ZABARELLA rédige quatre traités – en plus de son volumineux commentaire sur les *Seconds Analytiques* – à la méthode et n'en a rédigé aucun sur les tropes.

– 1661: ARNAULD et NICOLE, dans *la Logique de Port-Royal*, ne réservent que deux chapitres aux tropes, non sans faire remarquer que cette doctrine n'est pas d'une grande utilité:

Il serait peut-être plus utile d'examiner s'il ne seroit point plus à propos de n'en point traiter du tout.¹⁷

Mais Arnauld consacre un quart de leur ouvrage à la méthode (toute la IV^e partie).

Il est donc clair que l'approche par trop rhétorique des *Topiques* a conduit la dialectique dans une impasse (du moins en ce qui concerne la logique): dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle cette dialectique-là se trouve pratiquement exclue de la logique. Reste la question de savoir ce que la rhétorique a gagné à cette évolution; mais cette question déborde le cadre qui nous est ici impari et serait l'objet d'un tout autre débat – voire d'un autre colloque...

¹⁷ Arnauld, Nicole, *La Logique*, 233.

J. PRINS

THE INFLUENCE OF AGRICOLA AND MELANCHTHON ON HOBBES' EARLY PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE

1. *Introduction*

Stimulated by the rediscovery of Aristotelian writings on nature and on the logic of science in the twelfth century, a number of methodological controversies flourished which culminated in the sixteenth century. At first opinions differed only on the question of what was to be understood by the term 'method' and how methodology and science were to be related. Was method, for example, concerned with the actual acquisition of knowledge and as such part of science or did it supply only rules for the transmission of knowledge? In due time this primarily didactical way of posing the problem was exchanged for speculations which, mediated by the methodological problem, questioned the theory of principles and proof fundamental to the very concept of science.¹ Debates now were no longer dominated by the opposition between research and teaching; rather, the question was whether science is a matter of describing and classifying or of invention and explanation. In other words, was science primarily concerned with concepts and words or with things?

In the end all these problems can be reduced to the Aristotelian distinction between purely theoretical and applied science, between *scientiae* and *artes*. Initially, 'artists' and 'scientists' diametrically opposed each other. 'Artists' emphasized practical and didactical aspects of methodology while 'scientists' considered methodology a discipline which taught one how to do research and how to demonstrate things. Beginning in the sixteenth century primarily in Germany, a humanist-Aristotelian kind of eclecticism evolved which attempted to reconcile both points of view by developing a sort of logic based on an identification of speech and reason. Rudolph Agricola was one of its chief founders.

2. *Topics, teaching and the problem of probability*

Agricola's *De inventione dialectica* (1479) is one of the first answers to scholastic logic, which it saw as too dry, formalistic, complicated and unpractical. The book opens with the statement that the main function of

¹ Cf. Gilbert, *Renaissance Concepts of Method*.

speech, by which we communicate our thoughts, is teaching, that is to say: making what is unknown more known. This can be done in two steps. First an exposition informs the listener about the matter at hand. Then some form of judgement on this matter is tested by way of an argumentation which intends to convince the listener. This procedure works only when things are said which are appropriate to the matter and which will increase the chance that the listener will indeed begin to believe what he is being told. According to Agricola this art is *dialectic*.² As *ars probabiliter disserendi* it provides strategies for a rational discussion of problems and also a technique for proving statements. Both tasks can be performed by one kind of logic. Instead of the Aristotelian distinction between a logic of necessity and one of probability, Agricola begins with Aristotle's *Topica* which he augments where necessary with elements from the *Analytics*. At the same time he puts its material and method on the same level as those of rhetoric. Emphasis thus lies on the pragmatic character of this kind of logic.

Together with grammar, dialectic and rhetoric make up the logical or rational arts which supply the rules for the adequate use of language. Now, every art is acquired by a process of generalization on the basis of sensory experiences. Since dialectic teaches one how to derive general judgements from particulars, it takes a central position and functions as the guide and stabilizing factor of all the other arts.³ Thus it does not supply the material but rather the universal instrument necessary for distinguishing truth from falsehood.⁴ Opposing the scholastic division of logic based on Aristotle's *Organon*, Agricola instead follows the Ciceronian distinction between invention and judgement. He is primarily interested in invention because this part of logic had been neglected since Boethius. The *pars inveniendi* contains the method for finding arguments, the instruments which effect belief. Such a method is not a luxury when one considers the incalculable number of things and their properties in reality. In principle every normal human being through his senses has at his disposal an unlimited amount of material which, however, he is unable to grasp at the same time, let alone choose what is most useful at any given time. If this wealth is to be turned to good advantage it will have to be arranged in a 'logical' way. This can be done by classifying

² Probabile ergo dialectices erit & probabiliter dicere, quod pro conditione rei propositae quam aptissime ad fidem dicetur: DID (1528), p. 155 (= 1539, p. 193).

³ DID (1528), p. 153 (= 1539, p. 191).

⁴ DID (1528), p. 174, pp. 312-313 (= 1539, pp. 210, 363).

things in terms of the properties which they share;⁵ these may be expressed by the so-called 'commonplaces'. Agricola takes a commonplace to be nothing more than a general mark of a thing which indicates what is probable with regard to such a particular thing.⁶ The invention of arguments is based on a process of description and comparison. Description determines the nature and the properties of the matter at hand in terms of commonplaces. These commonplaces are then compared in order to discover the relations between the things themselves. Thus, besides the fact that in the sense of general terms the commonplaces express the purely formal relations between concepts, they also guarantee that the premisses are materially correct. For this reason Agricola's main problem is not the relation between thought and reality but rather that between thinking and writing or speaking. The proper use of language guarantees sound thinking and in this way indirectly the acquisition of knowledge. The scientist therefore should be particularly concerned with language. First he defines the data which the senses supply, and then he discovers how they are organized by ordering their names in the right way. Invention thus is not a process of going from nothing to something, but like all ways of knowledge it consists of a further identification, comparison and selection of material which already exists.

Once the material is found, each argument will have to be tested on its validity and applicability. These procedures are treated in the *pars iudicandi*, which gives us definite rules for checking arguments, that is, guidelines for the construction of reasonings.⁷

Finally, Agricola was probably one of the first writers on this subject to pose, in the third part of his logic, the didactical problem of method. Method is not a strategy to solve particular problems. Rather, it is a common form by which the material with which one has to deal is ordered. It is above all this last problem which would be given increasing attention in the years to follow.

⁵ Res autem numero sunt immensae, & proinde immensa quoque proprietas atque diversitas earum. Quo fit ut omnia quae singulis convenient aut discrepant, sigillatim nulla oratio, nulla vis mentis humanae possit complecti. Inest tamen omnibus, tametsi suis quaeque discreta sint notis, communis quaedam habitudo, & cuncta ad naturae tendunt similitudinem, ut quod est omnibus substantia quaedam sua, omnia ex aliquibus oriuntur causis, & omnia aliquid efficiunt: DID (1528), p. 8 (= 1539, p. 9).

⁶ DID (1528), p. 8 (= 1539, p. 9).

⁷ DID (1528), p. 142 (= 1539, p. 179). The relatively slight attention which Agricola pays to this part of logic does not mean that he thinks it unimportant. In fact, he reproaches the dialecticians of his time for not understanding that an argumentation is only conclusive 'cum est ea rerum inter se conditio, ut possint coniici in syllogismi vel in aliam quampiam formam argumentandi probatam, per quam cohaerentes inter se res, & necessario connexas esse colligatur'.

3. *Topics, proofs and the problem of certainty*

Agricola's ideas together with Aristotle's *Organon* and Galen's methodology formed the basis of humanist-aristotelian logic in the sixteenth century. This great respect for his ideas did not imply that they were taken over gratuitously.⁸ Not only were many variations on Agricola's theme composed but ideas were further worked out which he had only suggested in his work. The latter is true especially for his combination of the *Analytics* and the *Topica*, and his treatment of method. The purely rhetorical element would soon fall more and more into the background.

It is impossible to describe within the scope of this paper the development which began in the school of Alexander Hegius at Deventer and found its culmination in the work of Philip Melanchthon and the Systematics as well as in the thought of Peter Ramus.⁹ We will restrict our theme to a global comparison of *De inventione dialectica* and Melanchthon's ideas on logic and science because Hobbes' first steps in the field of methodology were probably modeled mainly on this variety of humanist-aristotelian logic.

Melanchthon (1479-1560) leant more heavily on Aristotle's *Analytics* than Agricola. Moreover, he enthusiastically defended the ideal of a geometrical method.¹⁰ Like Agricola he defined dialectic in didactic terms as an *unterricht vel unterredkunst*,¹¹ a method which teaches one how to transmit knowledge in a right, orderly and perspicuous way.¹² This knowledge can pertain to simple or to composite questions. The first two parts of dialectic are concerned with the treatment of simple questions, that is, with single terms or concepts, and it consists of a combination of definition and division. This is Melanchthon's definition of 'method' in the strict sense of the word. It is based on ten questions taken from the *Posterior Analytics* and the *Topica* which are comparable to Agricola's commonplaces; by means of them each simple question can be treated exhaustively. The third part of his dialectic, the *argumentatio*, pertains to

⁸ Melanchthon, for example, says: 'nec vero ulla extant recentia scripta de locis et de usu dialectices meliora et locupletiora Rudolphi libris'; cited by Hartfelder, *Philipp Melanchthon als praceptor Germaniae*, 217.

⁹ Risse, *Die Logik der Neuzeit* I; Vasoli, 'Ricerche sulle "dialettiche" del cinquecento'.

¹⁰ Schüling, *Die Geschichte der axiomatischen Methode*. Agricola admired the mathematical sciences for their coherence and certainty but he thought it was useless to combine them with the other arts. Perhaps Melanchthon's opposing judgement points to an influence of Boethius, whose doctrine of the maximal propositions was rejected by Agricola but later taken up again by Caesarius possibly putting Melanchthon on the track of his theory of axioms.

¹¹ Cited by Risse, *Die Logik der Neuzeit* I, 89, note 62.

¹² ... ars seu via recte, ordine et perspicue docendi...: cited by Risse, *Die Logik der Neuzeit* I, 89, note 61.

the treatment of composite questions such as propositions and reasonings. Here he treats the various forms of argumentation and kinds of syllogisms; contrary to what Agricola thinks, he believes they all differ in the certainty of their results. The *a priori* and *a posteriori* demonstrative syllogisms are most certain; they give necessary conclusions because they are based on common sense, self-evident principles and an intellectual grasp of the conceptual order. On the one hand Melanchthon restricts logical procedures to the domain of concepts where they concern only the formal side of things; on the other hand his topical point of departure does not imply that dialectic is only an *ars probabiliter disserendi*. Obviously Melanchthon thinks it is possible to acquire indubitable knowledge also on the basis of topical procedures. Besides, he identifies the *a priori* and *a posteriori* proofs with synthesis and analysis in the geometrical sense of the word.¹³ To his mind there is no real difference between Aristotelian theory of proof and the axiomatic deductive method of geometry. Melanchthon considered geometry the most perfect science because of its clarity and the certainty of its results. Without a knowledge of geometry it would be impossible to work methodically because one would not know what it actually means to prove a thing nor wherein resides the force of a demonstration.¹⁴

Especially Melanchthon's ideas on 'method' in the strict sense of the word were very influential. Not only did he have many followers in Germany but, like Agricola, soon his fame was great abroad as well. He strongly influenced English logicians like John Seton, Thomas Wilson, Thomas Blundeville and Robert Sanderson. Although his direct influence diminished after 1600, his ideas remained active in the work of the Systematics, particularly in that of Bartholomew Keckerman.

4. *Names, calculations and the problem of meaning*

As a student at Oxford, Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) had probably been confronted by humanist-aristotelian ideas in his textbooks on logic. This tradition is also richly represented in a list of over nine-hundred books which he made on the basis of catalogues of the Bodleian Library; he intended to read or at least consult all of them.¹⁵ However this may be, all

¹³ Geometris usitata nomina sunt et notissima compositio synthesis, quae a priore procedit, econtra resolutio seu analysis, quae a posteriore ad principia regreditur...: cited by Risse, *Die Logik der Neuzeit* I, 103, note 121.

¹⁴ ... cum demonstrationes geometricae maxime sint illustres, nemo sine aliqua cognitione huius artis satis perspicit, quae sit vis demonstrationum, nemo sine ea erit artifex methodi: Euclid, *Elementorum Geometricorum libri XV, Studiosis Adolescentibus*.

¹⁵ Pacchi, 'Una "Biblioteca ideale"'.

the characteristics shared by humanist aristotelians can also be found in his own work. First, his wilful and less strict use of technical terms and the corresponding weakening of traditional oppositions like those between *ordo* and *methodus*, the order of nature and the cognitive order, or the arts and the sciences. Second, his deferential but nevertheless no less critical attitude towards authorities. Third, his practical view of things which manifests itself in a plea for an efficient and profitable way of doing science and an interest in education. Characteristic for this pragmatism is also his idea that science is the product of experience, principles and reasoning. Fourth, the great importance which he attaches to moral philosophy and the belief that this discipline can be treated in a scientific way. Fifth, his conception of logic as a science and an 'art of arts' in the sense that without logic science simply cannot exist. Sixth, the idea closely connected with this dominant role of logic that science will stand or fall with the proper use of language. Seventh, the typical combination of teaching and research, classification and explanation, formality and substantiality. In short, his logic is inspired by both the *Topica* and the *Analytics*. Finally, Hobbes, like Melanchthon before him, thinks there is no real difference between the Aristotelian *apodeixis* and the geometrical method. We will illustrate a number of these similarities on the basis of some of his earlier works where those influences are most evident.

Already at the beginning of his career as a philosopher in the period between 1637 and 1640, Hobbes had been convinced by his senses that reality consists of nothing but individual bodies which impress their images on us by individual acts. It is the task of the philosopher to determine not only the nature and the order of those images but also the laws which regulate their production. Thus the philosopher does not investigate reality as such but only as it appears in our memory. In fact, memory functions as a mirror of reality 'in which judgement busies itself in examining all the parts of nature' in terms of their order, causes, parts, properties, uses, differences and resemblances.¹⁶ The philosopher does this in the following way. First he separates the different images by giving each a name. Then he 'calculates' with them, that is, he uses them in reasoning. These calculations are made in order to prepare the sensory material, which is not surveyable and often unclear in itself, for practical use. Like the humanist-aristotelian logicians, Hobbes sees the scientist not primarily as a theoretically interested creator but rather as a practically-minded man who describes and orders on an apparently self-evident empirical basis. The topical character of this methodology

¹⁶ Hobbes, *Critique de De Mundo de Thomas White*, 449, NLW Ms 5297, 'Of knowledge and the power cognitive in general'.

manifests itself in the role ascribed to memory and also in the aspects which the scientist investigates and which show a strong resemblance to the commonplaces. This comparison between reasoning and 'calculation' was also current among humanist aristotelians.¹⁷ Yet, in spite of this metaphor there is no mention of a geometrical method, and the scientist is said to calculate not with names but with phantasms or ideas. Thus the role which language and therefore logic play in the scientific process was not yet as prominent as it would be in later times.

In *Human Nature* (1640), Hobbes takes the first step in this direction. He explains that the invention of names 'has been necessary for the drawing of men out of ignorance by calling to their remembrance the necessary coherence of one conception to another'.¹⁸ The problem with names, however, is that almost all of them are equivocal and therefore can evoke different images. Moreover, a thing can have as many names as it has ways of being conceived or aspects in terms of which it can be compared to other things.¹⁹ For this reason the scientist cannot simply name and calculate. He must stick to right reason. This means that his reasonings must not contain equivocal terms; he must take care not to be fooled by the senses and he must start out from principles 'that are found indubitable by experience'.²⁰ The way in which Hobbes now describes the cognitive process strongly resembles the earlier description but at the same time it shows the increased importance of language and logic. The phantasms no longer matter but names; and the scientist is not just said to calculate but to define and to form propositions and syllogisms. Nevertheless, Hobbes still restricts his treatment of logic to a concise discussion of terms and propositions. He refrains from bothering the reader, who is supposed to have plenty of 'natural logic' anyway, with 'dry discourse'.²¹ Only two years later, in *De cive* (1642), does he deal with actual reasoning and the role of principles in a more detailed way. Right reason is no longer explicitly connected with sensory experience; rather it is defined as the very act of thinking which produces true conclusions when it starts out from true principles which have been ordered in the right way.²² These principles are nothing else than mutual agreements

¹⁷ Nuchelmans, *Late-Scholastic and Humanist Theories*, 169.

¹⁸ Hobbes' works have been cited from Aalen's reprint of Molesworth's edition of the *English Works*, referred to as EW, and the *Opera Latina*, referred to as OL, followed by the numbers of the volume and the page. Here: EW 4, 25,

¹⁹ Just as in Agricola, a thing has different names according to the thing with which it is compared or the commonplaces in terms of which it is characterized; cf. DID (1528), p. 84 (=1539, p. 107f.).

²⁰ EW 4, 24.

²¹ EW 4, 24.

²² OL 2, 169-170.

and man-made definitions, that is, explanations of the meaning of our words fixed in common parlance.²³ For truth is nothing more than a true proposition, and a proposition is true when subject and predicate refer to one and the same thing. So the truth value of a proposition is completely determined by the definitions of the terms that make up the proposition. Ultimately, it is only by way of definitions that we acquire scientific knowledge.²⁴

The times are now ripe for the idea of a geometrical method, a procedure that gives science a more reliable and stable basis than the one provided by sensory experience and common parlance. Thus, after Hobbes first made the transition from ideas to names, now his emphasis shifts from conclusions to principles and with this from the problem of truth to the problem of certainty.

These tendencies are fully realized in Hobbes' critical commentary of 1643 on Thomas White's *De mundo*, which was not published until 1973.²⁵ He begins with a refutation of White's statement that philosophy does not need to be treated in a logical way. Now, according to Hobbes, philosophy is the science of universal theorems whose truth can be proved by natural reason. Just as Agricola's dialectician explains hypotheses by way of theses, that is, commonplaces, Hobbes' philosopher with the help of natural reason reduces particular truths to general rules.²⁶ In this he will succeed only if he knows the differences and resemblances between things, if he knows their definitions and thus has learned to give them their proper names. From this fact Hobbes concludes that there is no true philosophy unless it is based on an adequate nomenclature of things. He even characterizes philosophy, which itself is considered as the knowledge of differences, as nothing other than a *vera, propria & accurata rerum nomenclatura*.²⁷ Therefore the philosophical use of language is distinguished from common usage first of all by the fact that it is accurate and definite. The rules for this kind of usage are taken from logic. Hobbes then defines logic as 'the art of teaching' used by writers who want to transmit knowledge, that is to prove the truth of some universal statement.²⁸ Logic teaches how to first define terms carefully and then how to deduce the necessary conse-

²³ OL 2, 412.

²⁴ OL 2, 420.

²⁵ Hobbes, *Critique de De Mundo de Thomas White*.

²⁶ ... opusque eius est singulares veritates reducere in regulas generales: Hobbes, *Critique de De Mundo de Thomas White*, 361.

²⁷ Hobbes, *Critique de De Mundo de Thomas White*, 201-202.

²⁸ Hobbes, *Critique de De Mundo de Thomas White*, 106: ... docere, id est demonstrare veritatem dicti alicuius universalis.

quences from these definitions. For Hobbes, then, teaching is the same as proving a thing. Besides, there is only one kind of proof, the logical kind, which can be found in its purest form in the mathematical sciences.

According to Hobbes, until his own time geometry of all the sciences had been the most advanced because geometricians lose no time on futile controversies, unlike natural and moral philosophers whose reasonings are based on dubious, unclear or unstable definitions. Still, these sciences could also be as certain as geometry. Geometric certainty, in fact, is neither a consequence of the nature of its subject nor of the geometrician's intellect but it merely follows from the fact that geometricians work methodically, that is, logically.²⁹

Thus we see how Hobbes, like Melanchthon, accepts only one kind of logic, which he identifies with method and considers the *sine qua non* of science. Likewise, he makes no distinction between teaching and demonstration, and he views the axiomatic-deductive method not only as a paragon for all the sciences but even as identical with logical demonstration as such.

²⁹ Hobbes, *Critique de De Mundo* de Thomas White, 270: Certitudo itaque ea non geometrarum sed methodi est...

P. VAN DER ZWAAL

PSYCHOANALYSIS AS A REDISCOVERY OF CLASSICAL RHETORIC

1. *Introduction*

What does rhetoric matter to psychoanalysis? At first glance these two disciplines seem to be very heterogeneous. Rhetoric refers to public speaking with skilled and styled eloquence, whereas psychoanalysis is associated with the reign of unconscious forces, dark drives and intimate desires. Rhetoric is a very old practical science with a comprehensive and refined apparatus of notions and prescriptions, elaborated in a long tradition. Against that, psychoanalysis is scarcely one hundred years old and is therefore very young indeed. In spite of the appearance of the opposite, both subjects are related to each other and it is the intent of this paper to indicate and demonstrate this connection.

Initially there will be a description of the situation of psychoanalytic treatment, and the different roles of patient and analyst, followed by an exposition of the performance of the analyst, and finally a discussion of the intrapsychic process of production in terms of an unconscious rhetoric. I hope to clarify, that the analytic situation is above all a rhetorical situation with patient and analyst in the shifting roles of performer and audience; and it is upon this that I will attempt to situate psychoanalysis in the rhetorical tradition.

2. *The psychoanalytic situation*

In spite of drastic innovations in theoretical matters, psychoanalytic practice, which in principle is very simple, has proved constant. Because of certain difficulties the patient initiates contact and after an extensive diagnostic examination the patient and the analyst may agree to start treatment. Patient and analyst come together (the one lying on the couch, the other sitting behind) and the patient attempts to tell everything that comes into his mind, whether pleasant, shameful, unimportant – everything. With the exception of speaking, every action is stopped. The rule of saying everything that comes to mind is constitutional to psychoanalytic treatment and since S. Freud it has been called 'the fundamental rule of psychoanalysis'.¹ The practicing of this rule fur-

¹ Freud, *The Standard Edition* (SE), XII, 89-156; Freud, *Gesammelte Werke* (GW), VIII, 349-87 and 453-78, X, 125-36 and 305-21.

nishes the full material of an analysis. The analyst commits himself to listen with a kindly disposed neutrality or 'evenly-suspended attention',² whereby he is able to discover significant elements that were disguised in the patient's story. The analyst's task is to interpret the patient's text, so that it will gradually take on a meaning, other than the original appearance. That is all. The analyst, too, confines himself to speech.

Is this situation a dialogue? If so, there should be a resemblance with a conversation or a discussion according to normative rules (e.g. about acceptable argumentation, fallacies, the cast of burden, etc.). This state of affairs does not fit into the psychoanalytic situation. Therefore, psychoanalytic treatment is not a dialogue, but a combination of two monologues.³

The patient starts to relate and by doing so he produces a discourse, a text with certain distinguishable aspects: content or proposition, propositional attitude, form or style, and effect(s). First, the analyst examines the given content. Aware of the fact that description always implies selection, for him the absence of certain references may be striking. The analyst may notice the missing pieces and he may inform his patient. Ultimately, the gaps in the text become filled and the content becomes richer. Second, the analyst examines the propositional attitudes and in particular the mystifications and the hidden meanings: a congratulation may contain a hidden reproach. Third, the composition is the object of his examination too: a flowery language may be intended to disguise. And finally, the analyst examines the effect(s), the persuasive function of the story. In short, the analyst is constantly alert for hidden persuasion: absent contents, hidden attitudes, denied effects, and so on. They are unknown to the patient, who will resist their manifestation. Ultimately, the analytical work is not a hermeneutical, not a speech-act theoretical, not a stylistic, but a rhetorical analysis.⁴

In the course of the treatment the patient has a great deal of opportunity to develop phantasies about his analyst and to construct an image according to his own imagination, e.g. a caring person, a true admirer, a severe judge, or a dangerous colossus. In technical terminology this is called: transference. It is the analyst's task to interpret the transference by means of his awareness of the complementary role which he feels thrust upon him by the patient. In technical terminology this is called: counter-transference. In order to promote the treatment, it is

² SE XII, 111sqq.; GW VIII, 377sqq.; cf. also SE XVIII, 239; GW XIII, 215.

³ Freud opposes psychoanalytic treatment to Socratic method: SE XVI, 280; GW XI, 290.

⁴ Mooij, *Psychoanalyse en regels*, deals with this subject also in relation to the so called speech act theory and the analytical philosophy of language.

necessary for the analyst to participate – with subtlety – in the role of imaginary audience, unconsciously prepared by the patient ('role-responsiveness'⁵). In other words, at the same time the analyst is functioning as the real and as the imaginary audience of the patient.

3. *Rhetorical analysis*

The analyst should analyze every verbal utterance from more than one point of view. To be precise, rhetoric is the discipline that gives to every utterance the most general context by permitting its analysis at every formally and functionally distinguishable level. Thus, rhetoric comes forward as a system based on a strict hierarchy.⁶ What should be the outline of such a hierarchy? The point of departure appears to be more important than the point of arrival: invention preponderates over elocution. In the hierarchical system the lowest level should be that of grammar and syntax, followed upwards by the elocution-compartment, then disposition, and at the highest level the section of invention with successively, the topics, the three appeals and their specific kinds of argumentation, and, right at the top, the three kinds of oratory. In fact, the chronology of consecutive activities out of the creative and didactic production-line becomes translated into a hierarchy of levels, used as a critical-analytic method.⁷ Thus, rhetorical analysis employs a hierarchical system, in which every phenomenon should be defined at its own level; but it should also be comprehended at each higher level. The relationship between the various subdivisions of rhetoric has, up to now, only partly been studied.⁸

In classical rhetoric the theory of the three kinds of oratory ('*tria genera causarum*') appears a central issue. First, almost all rhetorical works in antiquity are based on this inventarisation of practical eloquence. Second, this division has been drafted by means of a model of the oratorical speech-situation, and this model is also a suited frame of reference on behalf of the theory and the meta-theory of classical rhetoric. Third, this division offers a differentiation of positions as a subject,⁹

⁵ Cf. Sandler, 'Countertransference and role-responsiveness'.

⁶ Cf. Varga, 'Rhetoric, a story or a system?'.⁷

⁷ Varga, 'Rhetoric, a story or a system?', 86.

⁸ For instance, many Renaissance-rhetoricians appeared to be concerned in establishing such links, e.g. between figures and pathos; cf. e.g. Plett, *Rhetorik der Affekte*. The systematic presentation of classical rhetoric in Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* pays little attention to the hierarchical aspects.

⁹ Moreover, they may represent the different areas of culture: art, religion-science-philosophy, and politics. Cf. also J. Lacan's theory of 'les quatre discours', discussed in Juranville, *Lacan et la philosophie*, 341-53.

presenting a striking analogy with a number of fundamental schemes of psychoanalysis. Traditionally three kinds of oratory are distinguished according to the three oratorical situations: epideictic, judicial, and deliberative.¹⁰

In the epideictic kind of oratorical situation the performer brings an undoubted subject-matter for praise or blame. The audience has to become impressed and be stimulated to join in and to applaud. Pleasure has to be experienced, not in the least by being gripped by the evoked imagination. The performer nourishes the audience, which is being nursed, and the performer in turn nurses himself on the audience. Psychologically there occurs fusion, identification. In psychoanalytic terminology this may correspond with the dependent, immediate, oral-hysterical basic position – not at all an indication of pathology, rather an important structural moment of human existence. In the pathological form, life is experienced as either a heaven or a hell.

In the judicial kind of situation the performer is occupied with accusing or defending in order to persuade a judging audience. The subject-matter concerns the past and is principally doubtful in nature. The litigants never address themselves to each other but only to the independent judge, the embodiment of right and justice, truth and power. There is permanent distance: distance in time, distance from the facts and the valuation of the facts, distance from the judge. Psychologically objectification occurs. In psychoanalytic terminology this corresponds with the compulsive-narcissistic basic position – once again no indication of pathology, rather another important structural moment. In the pathological form, life is experienced as a law-court: obsessional occupation with problems of the past (guilt, punishment, undoing), permanent ambivalence, alternative struggle with and submission to a supposed omnipotence of authorities.

In the deliberative kind of oratorical situation the performer has to persuade an audience which is in principle equal to him. The subject-matter is doubtful in nature and concerns the future. The ambivalencies and the dependency of authorities are out of action. The hierarchical distance between speaker and audience has weakened. Psychologically there is intersubjectivity. In psychoanalytic terminology this corresponds with the basic position of independence and rivalry. Life has become politics, characterized by equivalence, moderation, and finiteness.

¹⁰ Cf. for instance: Hinks, 'Tria genera causarum', Solmsen, 'The Aristotelian tradition', Buchheit, *Untersuchungen zur Theorie des Genos Epideiktikon*.

The kinds of oratory correspond with three positions one can hold as a subject in relation to another person, i.e. psychoanalytically an object. In the epideictic kind a separate object exists only in a limited sense: the subject identifies strongly with the object, who in turn identifies with the subject. In the judicial kind a large distance exists, which separates and binds the subject and the object. In the deliberative kind the subject *and* the object become equal and similar: individualities. Thus, the three kinds of oratory show analogy with three phases of the complicated separation-individuation process: from symbiotic illusion with idealization and dependence, through conflicts of ambivalence, towards independence and individuation. These phases of emotional development are connected with three kinds of aggression, three types of depression, three forms of love. The three kinds of oratory are encountered also in the traditional classification of neurotic disorders, especially with regard to the striking feature of ambivalence as specifying difference. And after all, the three kinds of oratory obtain an application for systematizing the transference, the crucial phenomenon in psychoanalytic treatment. For example: an epideictic transference may be used by the patient to preserve the symbiotic illusion in a field where it should already have been abandoned.

4. The intrapsychic process of production

The patient provides a story, a text. Previous to delivery, this text has to be produced. Mostly the text is consciously expressed, but not always consciously invented. Even good speakers make inadvertent mistakes, and a new meaning may be revealed by a 'slip of the tongue'. From the beginning, psychoanalysis has paid much attention to 'slips of the tongue and pen'. What appears in a 'slip' may be a 'repulsed' content. The same happens in dreaming, where censorship is apparently less strong than control in day-time. These notions refer to unconscious thinking. 'Repulsion' is the correct translation where Freud spoke about 'Verdrängung'. The German word 'Verdrängung' is derived from the word 'Drang', which is connotated as 'to give in to a strong inner motive'. A 'Verdrängung' is thus a displacement or a dislodgment caused by an inner process. The notion of an inner process, which occurs at least in part unconsciously, refers to the way of production. Freud compared the dream with a rebus which initially seems nonsensical, but by replacing each separate element by a syllable or word a phrase is formed of the greatest significance.¹¹ According to the 'fundamental rule' the patient

¹¹ SE IV, 277-78; GW II/III, 283-84.

furnishes his associations for each separate element of the dream and so, patient and analyst together, are able to reconstruct the dream-thoughts lying behind the manifest dream. In this way one passes from the manifest to the latent dream-content. The manifest content masks the latent one. This process is called dream-work.¹²

The unconscious intrapsychic process may be considered in terms of traditional rhetoric, which for many centuries has been the theory of persuasive discourse. In the production of dreams the invention starts with the so-called day's residues,¹³ which are the true disturbers of sleep. Dreams, on the contrary, are concerned with guarding sleep by means of a more or less convincing text: the dream-work rewrites the disturbing dream-thoughts into a reassuring manifest dream-story by means of arguments (e.g. negation, etc.), displacement and condensation, and finally, representation by a picture. In the manifest content the accents are displaced and the principal characters are swung into the background, one person is a condensed presentation of different elements. Displacement is a metonymia, condensation is a metaphor;¹⁴ both are works of elocution. In this way a distortion arises, through which the original text is no longer recognizable, and in this shape the dream-thought has become acceptable for the dreamer-audience. Psychoanalytic interpretation is based upon being constantly alert for the hidden persuasion of this unconscious rhetoric. The work of interpretation – whether laborious or not – seeks to undo the dream-work.

What holds for the unconscious process of dream-production according to a rhetorical scheme may apply to other unconscious functions as well, such as the operation of the so called defence-mechanisms (e.g. splitting, negation, projection, reversal into the opposite, and so on). Associative thinking probably moves on by enthymematic reasoning.

5. The position of psychoanalysis in the rhetorical tradition

Referring to the process of communication and stressing the three factors in the speech-situation, identified by Aristotle¹⁵ as speaker, speech, and audience, Kennedy¹⁶ divides the tradition of classical rhetoric into three views, which are continuing strands throughout the history of Western

¹² SE IV, 277 - V 508; GW II/III, 283-512.

¹³ SE V, 553-55; GW II/III, 558-60; and SE V, 564; GW II/III, 569-70.

¹⁴ Cf. Sharpe, *Dream analysis*, 13-65; Jakobson, *Essais de linguistique générale* I, 65-66; Lacan, *Écrits*, 509-15; Lacan appears to confine the unconscious rhetoric to style, tropes and figures; Lyotard, *Discours, Figure*, 239-70; Martin, 'La condensation'.

¹⁵ Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1.3.1358a38.

¹⁶ Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric*, 16-17.

Europe: 1. a 'sophistic' rhetoric, which emphasizes the speaker and the education of an ideal orator; 2. a 'technical' rhetoric that concentrates on speech at the expense of the other two; 3. a 'philosophical' rhetoric, which tends to de-emphasize the speaker and to stress the validity of his message and the nature of his effect on an audience.

Almost from the beginning rhetoricians have been in conflict with philosophers. Gorgian rhetoric and Platonic philosophy proved to be enemies. Aristotle's attempt at reconciliation has provided a 'philosophical' rhetorical system as the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in reference to any subject whatever.¹⁷ Moreover, in his *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* Aristotle developed a theory about the action of the persuasive word in the soul, i.e. the mechanism of psychological transformation, and in this way he mapped out the forms of verbal psychotherapy. The Greek physicians of the fourth century B.C., however, who relied on management of the 'physis', were unable to integrate therapeutic and curative rhetoric into their 'naturalistic' medicine.¹⁸ In general, scientific medicine ignored verbal psychotherapy for some two thousand years.¹⁹

According to Cicero the art of oratory is infinitely more than the art of rhetoric. He 'humanized' rhetoric by making rhetorical techniques one of the many attributes of the person of the orator, and he (re-)opened the way for a conception of rhetoric including every kind of human utterance, even soliloquy, and ultimately for a general theory of human communication.²⁰ In fact, as Leeman²¹ has pointed out, Cicero returned to the position of Isocrates and the ancient Sophists. Inspired by the Ciceronian ideal of the union of philosophy with eloquence, which (though modified) was also the culture of Quintilian, humanists such as Lorenzo Valla, Rudolph Agricola and Juan-Luis Vives sought to unite dialectic and rhetoric. They gave definite primacy to rhetoric, thus expressing

¹⁷ Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1.2.1355b25-26. As for Aristotle's rhetorical psychology cf. Fortenbaugh, 'Aristotle's Rhetoric on Emotions'. Concerning Gorgian rhetorical psychology cf. the stimulating study by Segal, 'Gorgias and the psychology of the Logos', recently criticized by Verdenius, 'Gorgias' doctrine of deception'.

¹⁸ Lain Entralgo, *The therapy of the word in classical antiquity*, 139-170. Cf. also Lloyd, *Magic, Reason and Experience*, 86-98.

¹⁹ Cf. Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious*. Also Galen, who skilfully laid bare the emotional roots as a cause of bodily ills indeed, did not have a technique of verbal psychotherapy, cf. Galen, *On the Passions and Errors of the Soul*.

²⁰ Cicero, *De oratore* 3, 22-23: Una est enim, (...), eloquentia, quascumque in oras disputationis regionesve delata est; nam sive de caeli natura loquitur sive de terrae, sive de divina vi sive de humana, (...), sive ad paucos sive ad multos, sive inter alienos sive cum suis sive secum, rivis est diducta oratio, non fontibus, et quocumque ingreditur eodem est instructu ornatuque comitata.

²¹ Leeman, 'The variety of classical rhetoric'.

their revolt against scholastic formalism. The adoption by Agricola of a rhetorical model for dialectical invention imposed a new shape on dialectic: dialectic became rhetoricized. He appears to be highly interested in psychological problems concerning teaching and learning, and for him the aim of dialectic is 'to teach something to someone else by means of speech'.²² Peter Ramus, in the middle of the sixteenth century, included invention and disposition in dialectic, thus reducing rhetoric to stylistics, a theory of elocution. Nevertheless, both the classical and the classicist tradition seem to agree that the essentials of human nature and behaviour are constant and recognizable. Since the period of Romanticism, however, the idea caught on that the most essential part of a human being should be the individual and unrepeatable personality. In the nineteenth century, there was a considerable decline of the influence of classical tradition and rhetoric; poetry became the most individual expression of the most individual emotion. From that point of view the scope was widened by discovering driving forces in nature and in mind: attention was paid to the phenomenon of unconscious functioning. S. Freud (1856-1939), a man with a thorough university education *and* with a Jewish exegetical background, started psychoanalysis with studies in cocaine, hypnosis, hysteria, and interpretation of dreams and symbols. His approach was dualistic: on the one hand, he recognized the practice of psychoanalytic treatment as a talking-cure;²³ yet on the other, he endeavoured to construct a general system for unconscious mental functioning and for intrapsychic structure by means of 'naturalistic' theories. Only a few 'rhetorical' works²⁴ remain as exceptions: 'The Interpretation of Dreams' (1900), 'The Psychopathology of Everyday Life' (1901), 'Jokes and their relation to the Unconscious' (1905), 'Negation' (1925).

Although psychoanalytic treatment had become recognized as a talking-cure, in Freud's writings the terms 'Beredsamkeit', 'Eloquenz', 'Rhetorik', are brilliantly absent. This fact becomes even stranger if we focus on Freud's outstanding ability to express himself clearly both in writing and in speech. Freud's mode of thinking and intelligence were predominantly verbal. In his writings, as with the spoken word, he

²² Agricola, Cologne 1523/repr. Frankfurt a.M. 1967 (DID), 2,3; p. 196: *Erit nimurum dialectices finis, probabiliter de re proposita dicere: quando huic soli rei est instituta. Id scilicet est quod initio dixi, docere aliquid eum qui audit. Cf. DID 2,3; p. 196 afterwards: Sed qui ita docet, ut fidem fecisse oratione velit, et dicendo auditoris ad se trahere mentem, quatenus id facit, dialectici negotium agit.*

²³ SE XI, 13 and 21; GW VIII, 7 and 17. Cf. SE XV, 17: Nothing takes place in a psychoanalytic treatment but an interchange of words between the patient and the analyst. GW XI, 9.

²⁴ Cf. Todorow, *Théories du symbole*, 285-321.

captured the attention and the imagination of his audience to whom he spoke in the same way as to his patients, as a rhetorician. In reading Freud we become impressed by the undetachable unity of his psychoanalytic judgements and their verbal formulation. There is a unity of style, composition, and content, a unity of elocution, disposition, and invention. Instead of a scientific description of knowledge, Freud's writing is rather a production of knowledge by rhetorical means.²⁵

In conclusion, the analytic situation appears to be above all a rhetorical situation with patient and analyst in the shifting roles of performer and audience. Psychoanalytic practice emphasizes primarily the dynamic function of speech. The method of psychoanalytic treatment is an application of critical-analytic rhetoric. For systematizing the unconscious intrapsychic process of production, psychoanalysis may appeal to the 'philosophical' strand of classical rhetoric, the Aristotelean tradition, modernized by Ch. Perelman, the author of the *New Rhetoric*.²⁶ Both classical rhetoric and psychoanalysis agree in a fundamentally rhetorical epistemology: there is no pre-existent truth. On the contrary, knowledge and truth always exist within the context of speech. In this way psychoanalysis receives a position in the rhetorical tradition, and this clarifies the remarkable fact that Freud has still remained the unmistakable central point of reference in psychoanalysis, equivalent to Cicero and the Renaissance humanists, who especially by the dynamics of their personalities succeeded in influencing posterity.

6. Epilogue

The history of psychoanalysis shows a variety of Freudian offspring.²⁷ Freud's tendency to scientific jargon with pseudo-biological and pseudo-physical terminology, has offered support to the movement of Ego-psychology, which aims, in an optimistic way, at adaptation to the demands of the social setting. Another, more philosophical conception of psychoanalysis follows the theory of alienation: man has become alienated from himself, and psychoanalytic treatment enables him to perform an act of appropriation. An example is P. Ricoeur's Freud-interpretation as an archaeology of the subject²⁸ within a framework of Hegelian dialectic, going back to Socratic maieutics and Platonic dualistic philosophy. The rhetorical model contrasts with both the

²⁵ Cf. Schönau, *Sigmund Freud's Prosa*; and more recently Mahony, *Freud as a Writer*.

²⁶ Perelman, Obrechts-Tyteca, *Traité de l'argumentation*; Perelman, *The New Rhetoric and the Humanities*.

²⁷ Cf. Bercherie, *Genèse des concepts freudiens*, 388-89.

²⁸ Ricoeur, *De l'interprétation*, 407-75; Ricoeur, *Le conflit des interprétations*, 101-207.

‘naturalistic’ and the philosophical type of psychoanalysis: rhetorical psychoanalysis aims at mobilizing speech, transference, and desire, in such a way that the three kinds of oratory become fully available. The original conflict between Gorgias and Plato, between rhetoric and philosophy, as well as the gap between rhetoric and ancient medicine, have a continuation inside the psychoanalytic movement.

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Part I of this bibliography is a selective finding list for the works of Agricola and the six Latin *Vitae*. It gives some of the oldest sources and modern editions which are available. For more manuscripts than could be given here, see *Iter Italicum*, ed. P.O. Kristeller. For full bibliographical descriptions the reader is frequently referred to the *Bibliography of Printed Works and Translations* by Ms. G.C. Huisman. The references to Agricola's works in the *Epistolae* and the *Vitae* have been cited under the listing for each work.

Part II is an alphabetical listing of the literature quoted in the footnotes of the papers in this book; some additional titles on Agricola, which do not appear in the notes, have been included. Neither part pretends to be exhaustive.

PART I

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'Rodolphi agricole Traductio in epistolam de congressu Imperatoris Friderici & Karoli burgundionum ducis In qua de auctoritate ueteri libertateque hiraldo-rum deque causis belli franci' (Jan van Westfalen).
Jan van Westfalen [1483], fo. b1r-b6v; S fo. 220Er-220Gr; Martens, 1511, fo. b1r-c1v; Alardus II, pp. 222-226.
2. *Translation of the ps. Platonic dialogue Axioclos*. Ferrara [1477?].
See Van der Velden, 103; Prof. IJsewijn in this volume; Dr. Tournoy in this volume (n. 3); Vermeire; Huisman, nos. 5, 352-359. Mentioned in the *Vitae* by Trithemius, Joh. von Pleningen, Goswinus, Geldenhouwer and in *Ep.* 14 (dedication to Rudolph von Langen).
'Platonis philosophi axiochus de contempnenda morte' (Pafraet, Axioclos).
Pafraet [1480], fo. a1v-a6r; Jan van Westfalen [1483], fo. a2r-a8r; S2 fo. 2r-8v; S fo. 298r-303v; Martens, 1511, fo. a3r-a8v; Alardus II, pp. 258-264.
3. *Translation of (ps.) Isocrates, Paraenesis ad Demonicum*. Ferrara 1478.
See Van der Velden, 103-106; Geerinckx; Huisman, nos. 5, 256-351. Mentioned in the *Vitae* by Trithemius, Joh. von Pleningen, Goswinus, Geldenhouwer and in *Ep.* 15 (dedication to Johannes Agricola).
'Parenesis ysocratis ad demonicum per Rhodolphum agricolam e greco traducta' (S2).
S2 fo. 50r-57r; S fo. 305r-311v; Knoblochzer; Jacob de Breda, 1508, fo. B3r-C2v; Martens, 1511, fo. f7r-h1v; Alardus II, pp. 229-236.
4. *Translation of Isocrates, Ad Nicoclem*.
See Van der Velden, 106-107, who suggested that it was made in Ferrara and intended for Ercole d'Este; see also Swings. Mentioned in the *Vita* by Goswinus.
'Isocratis Atheniensis philosophi et oratoris clarissimi libellus de regno ad Nicoclem Cypri regem Rodolpho Agricola Phrisio interprete' (Alardus).
Alardus II, pp. 236-243. (The booklet had belonged to the library of Pompeius Occo (1465?-1537); see the letter by Haio Herman in Alardus II, pp. 243-245, dated 1 November 1529.)
5. *Translation of Aphthonius, Progymnasmata*. Ferrara.
See Van der Velden, 165-166; Prof. IJsewijn and Dr. Jardine in this volume; Van der Poel, *passim*. There is no dedication. Mentioned in the *Vita* by Joh. von Pleningen only ('praeexercitamenta quaedam utilissima quorum auctorem nescio e Graeco in Latinum ... conuertit'); Huisman, nos. 152-255.
'Exercitationis modi quatuordecim' (S2, S).
S2 fo. 25r-48v; S fo. 241v-262r; Alardus-Soter; Alardus II, pp. 1-76.

6. *Translation of Lucianus, De non facile credendis delationibus or De calumnia*. Dillingen, summer 1479.
See Van der Velden, 116-117; Prof. IJsewijn in this volume; Bleuckx. Mentioned by Joh. von Pleningen, (Geldenhouwer), in *Ep.* 16 (dedication to Johann von Werdenberg) and referred to in *Ep.* 18.
'Lucianii Samosatensis non esse credendum delationi Libellus' (S).
S fo. 221r-228r; Alardus II, pp. 246-254.
7. *Translation of Lucianus, Gallus sive Micyllus*. Heidelberg, summer 1484.
See *Ep.* 40 to Adolph Rusch; according to Joh. von Pleningen and S dedicated to Dietrich von Pleningen; S dates it in 1479; also mentioned by Hegius in *Ep.* 42 and by Agricola in *Ep.* 43.
'Lucianii Samosatensis gallus per Rhodolphum Agricolam frisum de greco in Latinum traductus' (S).
S fo. 229r-241r; Alardus II, pp. 276-289.

Dialectica, rhetorica

1. *De inventione dialectica libri tres*. Completed 15. August 1479; first edition 1515 (Huisman, no. 11). Mentioned by Agricola in *Epp.* 17, 18, 21, 22, 26, 53; by Hegius in *Ep.* 42, and by all *Vita* writers.
S fo. 1r-172v; Phrissemius (with commentaries); Alardus I, pp. 1-461 (with commentaries); Toscanella.
2. *Sententia Phaseli philosophi de Vniuersali singulare & uno: ad Rhodolphum scrip[ta]*. Text of 132 lines in S on two folio's of smaller size than the normal folio's, presumably written by Dietrich von Pleningen; added after fo. 190. See Prof. Braakhuis in this volume, note 4.
Inc. Perprobe factum illa multiplici distinctione.
Expl. Nihil igitur inconveniens prorsus idem penes unam notitiam agnitam esse et non agnitum poenes alteram poenes unam.
S fo. 190Ar-190Bv.
3. *Rhodolphi Agricolae phaselo philosopho de uniuersali singulare & uno*. Text of 8½ pages in S; the folio's are of normal size, the handwriting is that of Johann Pfeutzer. See in this volume Prof. Braakhuis, note 4.
Inc. Quum lego ea que doctissime uir mihi respondisti.
Expl. quod sit incommunicabile idest cui conforme in nullo alio possit inueniri.
S fo. 191r-195r.
4. *Commendatio Eloquentiae*. A text of 80 lines in S, ascribed to Agricola by the heading.
Inc. Sunt nonnulli dicendi studio infensiores.
Expl. quod hec forma omnium sit republicae prestantissima.
S fo. 205r-206v.
5. *Singulares aliquot de uniuersalibus Quaestiones*. Text of 4 pages in Alardus. See Prof. Braakhuis in this volume.
Alardus I, pp. 37-41.
6. *Scholia in orationem Ciceronis Pro lege Manilia*. Text of 10 pages in small type in Alardus.
Alardus I, pp. 461-471.
7. *L. Annaei Senecae Declamationes aliquot, cum Rodolphi Agricolae commentariolis*. See Van der Poel, *passim*.
Bebelius; Alardus II, pp. 90-118.

Codices manuscripti et adnotationes

1. Tacitus, *Annales* 11 ff.; *Historiae*. Leiden ms. BPL 16B; autograph codex, written by Agricola at Ferrara between 1475 and 1479: see Prof. Römer in this volume.

2. Plinius, *Epistulae*. Leiden ms. Voss. Lat. 4° 80; autograph codex, written by Agricola at Ferrara, bearing date Dec. 1, 1478; see Prof. Römer and Dr. Hermans in this volume.
3. Plinius, *Epistulae*. Stuttgart, Cod. poet. 4° 30; codex written for Dietrich von Pleningen, bearing date February 26, 1478; marginalia and colophon in Agricola's hand: see Prof. Römer and Dr. Hermans.
4. Tacitus, *Annales* 11 ff.; *Historiae*. Stuttgart Inc. 2° 15218; *editio princeps*, c. 1472; emendations in Agricola's hand: see Prof. Römer.
5. Plinius, *Epistulae*. Stuttgart Inc. 2° 13110 (2 copies); *editio princeps*, 1471; corrected by Agricola at Ferrara, 1478; marginalia in Agricola's hand: see Prof. Römer and Dr. Hermans.
6. *Notes on Boethius, De consolatione philosophiae*, book I: see Allen, 'The letters' 305. Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*, ed. Joh. Murmellius, Albert Paffraet, Deventer, c. 1514 (Murmellius mentions Agricola in a note on p. 38).
7. *Notes on Seneca*: see Dr. Hermans in this volume, pp. 130-131.

Carmina

Twenty-six Latin poems of Agricola are known: Alardus has twenty-three; two more were published by Professor Waterbolk in 1972, and the Stuttgart manuscript (*Cod. Poet. et Philol.* 4° 36) has an unpublished poem on St. Catherine not found elsewhere. Recently two epitaphs have come to light in an Utrecht manuscript (ms. 232), but they are of uncertain ascription: see the paper by Mr. P. Schoonbeeg in this volume, note 6. The Agricola-editions of Jan van Westfalen [1483] and of Martens, 1511, have twelve and sixteen respectively, but none of these exclusively.

In *Ep. 23* to his brother Johannes, Agricola mentions 'nonnullos versiculos, epitaphia et hendecasyllabos', which he wrote at the instigation of and partly on Jodocus Besselius in Antwerp during his stay there in the second half of 1481. Besides, he refers to 'et alia nonnulla'. In his letter of 7 April 1484 (*Ep. 37*) he writes Anton Vrije (Liber) that he has given into print his *Anna mater*; the same printing is mentioned in *Ep. 38* of 26 May. In *Ep. 40* of 1 October 1484, to Adolph Rusch, he says that in the winter of 1483-1484 he wrote the *Anna* poem and an *epicedion* on Maurits von Spiegelberg, who died on 3 June 1483 (two *eidyllia* he calls them). A handful of (post)incunabula contain the *Anna mater* alone or together with the *epicedion* (see Huisman, nos. 139-146).

Trithemius' *Vita* mentions the carmen on St. Anne and, unspecified: 'varia ... et elegantissima carmina'. Johannes von Pleningen refers only to the verses for St. Jodocus. Goswinus van Halen mentions the elegies on *Anna mater* and on Von Spiegelberg, and the prayer to Jodocus; he also refers to 'aliquot epigrammata' and, at the end of his *Vita*, to 'multa epigrammata, quorum adhuc aliqua habentur, pleraque perierunt'. Besides, he says that Agricola was the real author of a poem in Asclepiadean verse, 'Iam nos Pieridum cedite numina', published under the name of Goswinus's schoolteachers. He also refers to an acrostic in the vernacular which Agricola wrote on his girl friend. Its first words were: 'Als ic ghedenck'. Apart from the incipits, these two poems are not known to us. Finally, Goswinus mentions a prayer in verse to St. Anthony. In this last case he may be mistaken; possibly he had once seen Agricola's *Anna mater* in a *Vita Divi Antonii* by Mapheus Vegius, printed in 1492: see Huisman, no. 140.

The following list gives the superscriptions and incipits of all the poems, as far as available according to Alardus, with reference of the main sources.

1. *Rodolphi Agricolae ad Iodocum Besselinum hendecasyllabon* (64 v.).
Inc. Laeto lumine lubricum renidens.
Jan van Westfalen [1483]; Martens, 1511; Alardus II, p. 291.
2. *Ad Cribellum Mediolanensem Rodolphus Agricola* (hendecas., 56 v.).
Inc. Arces Insubrium petens potentum.
S1; Plinius, 1514; Alardus II, p. 293.

3. *Ad Rodolphum Langium Rodolphi Agricolae carmen* (Alcaic ode, 16 str.).
Inc. Formosa rerum iam facies perit.
Jan van Westfalen [1483]; Martens, 1511; Alardus II, p. 294.
4. *Rodolphi Agricolae, De omnibus sanctis, hymnus* (hexam., 24 v.).
Inc. Vox resonans toto fundat iam carmina mundo.
Jan van Westfalen [1483]; Martens, 1511; Alardus II, p. 296.
5. *Rodolphi Agricolae Anna mater* (eleg. dist., 310 v.).
Inc. Anna parens summae genitrix ueneranda parentis.
Pafraet, Anna, c. 1483-1485; S; Martens, 1511; Alardus II, p. 297.
6. *In faciem Ciceronis initio orationum suarum pictam* (eleg. dist., 2 v.).
Inc. Ora uides, audisque diserta tonitrua linguae.
Jan van Westfalen [1483]; Alardus II, p. 306.
7. *In facies duorum amantium pictura expressas* (eleg. dist., 2 v.).
Inc. Ecce dat ars oculos, datque ora simillima ueris.
Jan van Westfalen [1483]; Alardus II, p. 306.
8. *Rodolphi Agricolae epigramma* (eleg. dist., 4 v.).
Inc. Postera quid portet dubium lux, accipe praesens.
S; Martens, 1511; Alardus II, p. 306.
9. *Aliud eiusdem* (eleg. dist., 2 v.).
Inc. Optima sit uitiae quae formula quaeritis, haec est.
S; Martens, 1511; Alardus II, p. 306.
10. *Ad Casparem Abbatem montis sancti Georgii, Rodolphi Agricolae carmen* (eleg. dist., 90 v.).
Inc. Tandem saepe mihi precibus uotisque petitum.
Jan van Westfalen [1483]; Martens, 1511; Alardus II, p. 306.
11. *In laudem Papiae paneyricon per Rodolphum Agricolam* (hexam., 17 v.).
Inc. Yrbs Ticini decus o magnum et mirabile rerum.
Alardus II, p. 309.
12. *Ad Lucam Crassum iuris utriusque doctorem, Rodolphus Agricola* (eleg. dist., 16 v.).
Inc. Crasse uir egregios pleno qui pectore mores.
Alardus II, p. 310.
13. *Carmen heroicum de uita diui Iudoci, per Rodolphum Agricolam* (hexam., 110 v.).
Inc. Regia progenies, ueterum stirps clara Britannum.
S; Prudentius, 1508; Martens, 1511; Alardus II, p. 310.
14. *Rodolphi Agricolae Phrisii* (eleg. dist., 12 v.).
Inc. Prisca Ioannes amans artis monumenta perire.
Alardus II, p. 313.
15. *Rodolphi Agricolae in mortem Mauricii comitis Spiegelbergi, epicedion* (eleg. dist., 190 v.).
Inc. Phebe veni nigra crines umbrante cupresso.
S; Martens, 1511; Alardus II, p. 314.
16. *Epitaphium Mauricii a Rodolpho Agricola aeditum* (eleg. dist., 8 v.).
Inc. Ecce Spagelbergi Comes ordine clausus auorum.
Martens, 1511; Alardus II, p. 319.
17. *Rodolphi Agricolae in Philippum, Philippi ducis Brabantiae Nothum epitaphium* (eleg. dist., 12 v.).
Inc. Hac quicunque uia transis, aduerte uiator.
Jan van Westfalen [1483]; Martens, 1511; Alardus II, p. 319.
18. *Aliud* (eleg. dist., 12 v.).
Inc. Si genus et probitas, magna eaque modestia mentis.
Jan van Westfalen [1483]; Martens, 1511; Alardus II, p. 320.
19. *Aliud* (eleg. dist., 12 v.).
Inc. Quisquis ades, cuius blande mortalia mentem.
Jan van Westfalen [1483]; Martens, 1511; Alardus II, p. 320.
20. *Aliud* (eleg. dist., 4 v.).
Inc. Patris nomen habens, satus at sine lege Philippo.
Jan van Westfalen [1483]; Martens, 1511; Alardus II, p. 321.

21. *Aliud* (eleg. dist., 2 v.).
Inc. Dux cui dat uitam absque thoro nomenque Brabantus.
 Jan van Westfalen [1483]; Martens, 1511; Alardus II, p. 321.
22. *Margaretae et Lodouicae sororum epitaphium* (eleg. dist., 10 v.).
Inc. Margareta iacet simul et Lodouica, tenellas.
 Jan van Westfalen [1483]; Martens, 1511; Alardus II, p. 321.
23. *Rodolphi Agricolae* (eleg. dist., 8 v.).
Inc. Hoc satus Heimanno tegitur sub marmore Petrus.
Postscript: Obiit Kalendis Nouemb. Anno Christi M.CCCC.LXXI.
 Alardus II, p. 321.
24. *De Katarina S. Ymnus de diua Katarina a Rhod. Agricola decantatus* (Sapph. ode, 17 str.).
Inc. Quis satis diuam celebret puellam.
 S fo. 220r-220Ar.
25. (eleg. dist., 12 v.).
Inc. Currite proh. juvenes proh currite queso.
26. (hexam., 9 v.).
Inc. Namque uelim dulces me primum ante omnia campi.
 25. and 26. S1 fo. 55v; Waterbolk, Hum. Lov.; *idem*, Gron. Volksalm.; see also
 Van der Blom.
 eleg. dist., 8 v.:
27. *Inc.* Si queat eloquium, si mens illustris et artes.
28. *Inc.* Si queat eloquium, si mens illustris et artes.
 Utrecht, ms. 232; see Mr Schoonbeeg in this volume, note 6; Expos. Cat. UBG,
 no. 56 and photograph on p. 96.

Epistulae

The chronological numbering of P.S. Allen (1906) is retained here, though a few letters had to be dated anew. The incipits and explicits are according to the oldest sources.

1. *To Albert Goyer*. Pavia, 18 July 1469.
Inc. Photionem atheniensem uirum omnis antiquitatis.
Expl. datum papie XVIII Iulii 1469.
 S fo. 220Cr-220Cv; Hartfelder, p. 11.
2. *To Johannes Vredewolt*. Pavia, probably summer or autumn 1472; see in this volume:
 Prof. Sottili's lecture and Dr Akkerman, n. 16.
Inc. Scribis mihi suauissime uir.
Expl. Datum Papię properanter de multa nocte.
 S fo. 220Dr-220Dv; Hartfelder, pp. 11-12.
3. *To Rudolph von Langen*. Selwerd, 26 October [1470?].
Inc. Gaudeo humanissime Rodolphe Communumque studiorum nostrorum.
Expl. Vale. Datum ziloe VII kl. Nouembris.
 Liber, Compendium fo. M7r-M7v; Alardus II, pp. 178-179.
4. *To Antonius Liber* (Vrije). [Selwerd?] 5 February 1471.
Inc. Quid est suauissime Antoni, tam diu nulle mihi.
Expl. Vale. Anno LXXI. Nonis Februariis.
 Liber, Compendium fo. M7v-M8v; Alardus II, pp. 174-175.
5. *To Antonio Scrovigni*. Pavia [winter 1473-1474].
Inc. Iniuinxisti mihi ut litteras illas.
Expl. Epistole hec erat sententia.
 Jan van Westfalen [1483] fo. br; S fo. 220Dv-220Er; Martens, 1511, fo. bl;
 Alardus II, pp. 221-222.

6. *To Dietrich von Pleningen*. Ferrara, 5 Dec. [1475].
Inc. Alias plura, nunc pro tempore.
Expl. Vale. properantissime ferrarię pridie S. nicolai. anno 1476 (*sic*).
S fo. 197v-198r; Hartfelder, p. 16.
7. *To Dietrich von Pleningen*. Ferrara, 10 January 1476.
Inc. Satisfatiendum mihi erat instituto meo.
Expl. Raptim ferraria X^o Ianu. anno LXXVI^o.
S fo. 195v-196r; Hartfelder, pp. 12-13.
8. *To Dietrich von Pleningen*. Ferrara, 20 January 1476.
Inc. habes ex me plini suauissime.
Expl. Datum ferrarie raptissime ipso die Sancti Sebastiani hora 14 Anno 1476.
S fo. 196r-197r; Hartfelder, pp. 13-14.
9. *To Dietrich von Pleningen*. Ferrara, 4 April 1476.
Inc. ergo nihil mihi scribis.
Expl. Datum propere. 4 aprilis ferrarie Anno 1476. Frater meus omnes honestissimis uerbis salutat.
S fo. 197r-197v; Hartfelder, pp. 14-15.
10. *To Walter Woudensis*. Ferrara, 14 April 1476.
Inc. Volenti mihi ad te scribere.
Expl. Vale. datum ferrarie properantissime ipso die paschę.
S fo. 198v-199r; Hartfelder, pp. 16-17.
11. *To Johann von Pleningen*. Ferrara, 19 July 1476.
Inc. Stephanus de antwerpia ad me dedit.
Expl. Datum propere ut uides. XIX.iulii.ferrarie [in margine adscriptum:] Anno 1476.
S fo. 204r-204v; Hartfelder, p. 15.
12. *To Johann von Pleningen*. Ferrara, 5 August [1476].
Inc. litteras fratris tui quibus scribit mihi.
Expl. Datum. V. augusti ferrarie.
S fo. 199r-199v; Hartfelder, pp. 17-18.
13. *To Johann von Dalberg*. Ferrara, [23 December 1476].
Inc. rediisti in italiam et quod futurum.
Expl. Datum propere ferrarie lune ante nativitatis.
S fo. 199v-200v; Morneweg, pp. 44-45.
14. *To Rudolph von Langen*. [Ferrara, 1477?].
Inc. Libellum platonis qui axiochos inscribitur latinum feci.
Expl. quem solum ego meorum studiorum abunde magnum theatrum puto.
Vale. (*Inc.* and *expl.* according to Jan van Westfalen [1483])
Pafraet, Axiochos [1480], alv; Jan van Westfalen [1483] a2r; S2 fo. 49r-49v; S fo. 297v; Alardus II, p. 258.
15. *To Johannes Agricola*. Ferrara, 30 November 1478.
Inc. Nihil habeo mi frater.
Expl. Vale. Date ferrarie. Anno Salutis 1478. pridie Kaln decembri.
S2 fo. 49r-49v; S fo. 304r-304v; Jacob de Breda, 1508, fo. BIIv-B3r; Martens, 1511, fo. f6; Alardus II, pp. 227-228.
16. *To Johann von Werdenberg*. [Dillingen, summer 1479].
Inc. (Alardus) In mercibus aestimandis uenerande praesul.
Expl. (S) Sed nos Lucianum ipsum dicentem audiamus.
S fo. 221 (the 3^{1/2} last lines only, because fo. 220 is missing); Alardus II, pp. 245-246.
17. *To Dietrich von Pleningen* [Dillingen, 15 August 1479] (date given *in margine* in S).
Inc. Absolui tandem libros quos de inuentione dialectica.
Expl. plurimum certe si potuisssem prestiturus. Vale.
S fo. XIVr-XIVv; Martens, 1511, fo. Alv; Alardus I, fo. blr-blv.

18. *To Adolph Occo*. Dillingen, 24 August [1479].
Inc. Gratissimum fecisti quod figuras eas mihi misisti.
Expl. uale. Dillingi, Bartholomei Anno 1481 (*sic*).
S fo. 220Ar-220Bv; Hartfelder, pp. 18-19.
19. *To Dietrich von Pleningen*. Cologne, 15 September 1479.
Inc. Nihil habui quod priuatim tibi scribebem.
Expl. Vale. Vides festinationem meam. Colonie XV septembbris Anno 1479.
S fo. 200v-201r; Morneweg, p. 15.
20. *To Fredericus Moorman* (Maurus). Selwerd, 3 April 1480.
Inc. Vetus uerbum est quemque fabrum esse fortunae suaee.
Expl. Datum praepropere Siloe III Nonas Aprileis Anno LXXX°.
SBH sign. k 984 a, fo. 4v-5v; Allen, 1906, pp. 316-317.
21. *To Alexander Hegius*. Groningen, 20 September 1480.
Inc. Dolui suauissime Alexander si quid mihi credis.
Expl. Datum groningi, XX septembbris anno LXXX.
Jacob de Breda, 1508, [Y1]v-BIIv (the copy I consulted (KB 226 E 40) is wrongly bound); Martens, 1511, fo. flv-f5r; Alardus II, pp. 187-191; Philol. Epist., 1610, pp. 47-54 (fragmentum).
22. *To Adolph Occo*. Cologne, 19 October [1480].
Inc. Coloniam, quod ibi negocium mihi erat.
Expl. Colonie properanter XIII Kalendas nouembbris.
S fo. 213r-215v; Hartfelder, pp. 20-22.
23. *To Johannes Agricola*. [Groningen, winter 1481-1481?].
Inc. Rodolphus Philippi ex literis quas ad eum dederas.
Expl. D. Magistro Hiccio obsequium meum commenda.
Alardus II, pp. 183-184.
24. *To Jacob Barbireau (Jacobus Barbiranus)*. Groningen, 27 March [1482].
Inc. quid est suauissime iacobe: tam celeriter oblitus es nostri.
Expl. Vale date Groningen biduo post annunciationem Marie.
S fo. 173v-174r; Martens, 1511, fo. e4r-flv; Alardus II, pp. 213-214.
25. *To Johannes Agricola*. Groningen, [c. July] 1482.
Inc. Ioannes Vuiardi frater Dominae Priorissae uenit ad me.
Expl. Vale datum Groningae. Anno LXXXII.
Alardus II, p. 217.
26. *To Adolph Occo*. Heidelberg, 11 October [1482].
Inc. Reddite tandem mihi sunt litterę tuę.
Expl. uale Date heydelberge postridie gerionis et uictoris.
S fo. 215v-219r; Hartfelder, pp. 22-25.
27. *To Johann von Pleningen*. Germersheim, 22 October 1482.
Inc. Ornatisimus uir theodericus plinius frater tuus.
Expl. Vale Date Gämersheim (*sic*). XI Kalendas Nouembbris Anno LXXXII°.
S fo. 211v-213r; Hartfelder, pp. 25-27.
28. *To Dietrich von Pleningen*. Koblenz, 25 October 1482.
Inc. Quarta die quam a dalburgo nostro discessi.
Expl. Datum properantissime confluentibus VIII° Kalendas nouembbris. Anno 1482.
S fo. 201r-202v; Hartfelder, pp. 27-28.
29. *To Jacob Barbireau*. Cologne, 1 November [1482].
Inc. Reddite sunt mihi suauissime iacobe in itinere.
Expl. Datum colonie kalendis nouembbris Anno LXXXII (*sic*).
Jan van Westfalen, [1483] fo. b6v-c5v; S fo. 334v-337r; Martens, 1511, fo. c1v-c7r; Alardus II, pp. 205-211.
30. *To Johannes Agricola*. [Groningen], 20 December 1482.
Inc. Fui in aula Palatini apud Dalburgium nostrum.
Expl. Vale. Pridie D. Thomae Anno LXXXII. Illustrissimae dominae tuae obsequium meum commenda.
Alardus II, pp. 214-215.

31. *To Johannes Agricola*. Groningen, 21 January [1483].
Inc. Venit ad me nudius tertius pater tuus.
Expl. Vale, et illustribus dominis tuis obsequium meum commenda. Datum Groningen. Agnetis.
Alardus II, pp. 218-219.

32. *To Dietrich von Pleningen*. Groningen, 6 February 1483.
Inc. Redditę sunt mihi suauissime plini litterę tuę quas spire die elizabeth dederas.
Expl. Iterum uale. Datum groningen VI^a februarii. Anno 1483.
S fo. 202r-203r; Hartfelder, pp. 28-29.

33. *To Johannes Agricola*. Groningen, [February 1483].
Inc. Redditae sunt mihi litterae tuae, quibus idem de sororo nostro scripsisti.
Expl. Valeto. Datum Groningae.
Alardus II, pp. 216-217.

34. *To Johannes Agricola*. [Groningen], 31 May 1483.
Inc. Curatores hospitalis Sanctae Gertrudis oppidi nostri.
Expl. Datum properantissime, sabbato post corporis Christi. Anno LXXXIII.
Alardus II, pp. 220-221.

35. [To *Johannes Agricola*.] Groningen, [6 October 1483, or within the next few days]; see Van der Velde, p. 137.
Inc. Hodie profiscor in Holandiam nomine Reip. nostrae.
Expl. Etiam atque etiam uale.
Alardus II, pp. 217-218.

36. *To Alexander Hegius*. Groningen, [shortly after 20 October 1483]. See Van der Velden, p. 137.
Inc. Redeunti mihi domum redditae sunt litterae tuae.
Expl. Vale. Datum Groningae.
Alardus II, pp. 181-183.

37. *To Antonius Liber*. Deventer, 7 April 1484.
Inc. Annam matrem imprimendam dedi.
Expl. Datum Dauentriae VII Idus Aprilis, anno LXXXIII.
Alardus II, pp. 176-177.

38. *To Jacob Barbireau*. Heidelberg, 7 June 1484. (= De formando studio.) Huisman, nos. 2-6; 83-122.
Inc. dedi Colonia discedens litteras Iohanni rinco communi amico nostro.
Expl. Date Heidelberge septimo Kalendas Iunii (*sic!* other sources have Idus) Anno 1484 diligenter me ... fac ... certiorem per hunc ipsum qui has tibi reddet.
S fo. 174v-181v; Jacob de Breda, 1508, AIIV-[A4]r; Martens, 1511, fo. c7r-e2v; Alardus II, pp. 193-201; Zorrilla (Prof. IJsewijn drew my attention to this edition of the text); Prague, cod. lat. 502 (I owe this reference to Prof. Sottili).

39. *To Johannes Agricola*. Heidelberg, 23 July 1484.
Inc. Misi fratrem nostrum Henricum in patriam.
Expl. Datae Heidelbergae. X. Calendas Augusti, anno LXXXIII. Plinius noster ... promittit.
Alardus II, pp. 215-216.

40. *To Adolph Rusch*. Heidelberg, 1 October 1484.
Inc. Cupiebam ad te venire quemadmodum constitueram.
Expl. Vale datę propere heidelberge Kalendis octobribus Anno LXXXIII.
S fo. 208v-210r; Hartfelder, pp. 29-30.

41. *To Johann Reuchlin*. Heidelberg, 9 November [1484].
Inc. Ἔγραψάς μοι ὡς τὴ δευτέρα ταῖν τοῦ ἐπιστολαῖν.
Expl. Vale Datę heidelberge. V. idus nouembris.
S fo. 207r-208v; Epistolae ad Reuchlin, 1514, fo. gVv-gV1r; Alardus II, pp. 179-181.

42. *Alexander Hegius to Agricola*. Deventer, 17 December [1484].
Inc. Quod istic nullas ante hac acceperis litteras.
Expl. Vale ex Dauentria XVI. calendas ianuarias.
Hegius Dialogi O4v-O5v; Kraft-Crecelius, pp. 5-7.

43. *To Alexander Hegius*. Worms, Thursday [c. January 1485].
Inc. Non facile dixerim, quantum mihi uoluptatis litterę tuę attulerunt.
Expl. Date propere Wormacie tercia septimane: sic ... dicimus et cetera.
S fo. 220Gr-220Gv; *Hegius Carmina* fo. A4v-A5v; Martens, 1511, fo. e2v-e4r; Alardus II, pp. 185-186.

44. *To Johann Reuchlin*. Heidelberg, 4 February [1485].
Inc. Quum Plinius meus uel noster potius.
Expl. datum pridie nonas februarias heidelberge.
S fo. 206v-207r; *Epistolae ad Reuchlin*, 1514, fo. gVIv; Alardus II, p. 181.

45. *Petrus Schott to Agricola*. Strasbourg, 18 February 1485.
Inc. Si Epistolarum genus illud est praecipuum.
Expl. Vale data Argentina ad duodecimum Kalendas Marcii. Anno a natuitate saluatoris M.CCCC.L XXXV.
Schottus, *Lucubratiunculae*, 1498, fo. XXXVIIr-XXXVIIv; *Philol. Epist.*, 1610, pp. 54-58; *Cowie I*, pp. 70-72 (see Herding, pp. 113-126).

46. *To Adolph Rusch*. Heidelberg, 27 March 1485.
Inc. Respondi litteris tuis, itidem litteris ... petri scotti.
Expl. date prēponere heidelberg anno 1484 palmarum die.
S fo. 211r-211v; *Hartfelder*, p. 31.

47. *To Adolph Rusch*. Heidelberg, 13 April 1485.
Inc. Libros quos emisti mihi: eos accepi.
Expl. Vale. date heydelberge idibus aprilis Anno 1485.
S fo. 210r-211r; *Hartfelder*, pp. 31-32.

48. *To Johannes Agricola*. Rome, 30 May [1485].
Inc. Reddidi mihi literas tuas, cui eas dederas.
Expl. Vale. properanter scriptum Romae, secunda septimana ante diem corporis Christi. Anno LXXX (sic).
Alardus II, p. 219.

49. *To Johann von Dalberg*. Trento, 4 August [1485].
Inc. Reuerendissime presul primum in commune gratias agimus deo.
Expl. IIII augusti tridenti. ex lectulo ut potui.
S fo. 203v-204v; *iterum* 204v-205r; *Hartfelder*, pp. 32-33.

50. *To Johann von Dalberg*. Trento, 1 September 1485.
Inc. Salue Reuerendissime pater. Dominus iohannes richenstein.
Expl. Date tridenti Kalendis septembbris Anno 1485, propere ut uides.
S fo. 203r-203v; *Hartfelder*, p. 33.

(51.) *To Adolph Occo*. [Dillingen, between 15 and 24 August 1479?]
Inc. Caeterum in hoc opere.
Expl. mortalium ignavia fuit indigna. Vale.
Alardus I, fo. blv (Fragmentum epistolae Rodol. Agrico. ad Adolphum Occonem Phrisium medicum.)

(52.) *Johann Reuchlin to Agricola*. Stuttgart, [1484-1485?]
Inc. Subdubito, quas ad te proximas dedi literas.
Expl. Vale. Ex Stuttgart ... (illegible).
SBH Ms. 332b.

(53.) *To Adolph Occo*. [Heidelberg, after c. 10 September 1484].
Inc. Biennum totum est ex quo nullę mihi litterę redditę sunt ex te.
Expl. neque de nostra μεγαλοφύλα ut frontem non conteram: cogitare. Vale.
S fo. 219r-219v.

(54.) *Petrus Schott to Agricola*. Strasbourg, 8 December 1485.
Inc. Agere tibi iampridem debebam ingentes gracias.
Expl. Vale. Date Argentina ad sextum ydus Decembres. Anno M.CCCC. LXXXV.
(Postscript:) Relatę per D. Thomam Vuolfium ad tertium Kal. Ianuarias. M.CCCC.LXXXV. narrantem uirum praestantissimum morti concessisse.
Schottus, *Lucubratiunculae*, 1498, fo. XLVr-XLVv; Cowie I, pp. 84-85.

Vitae

1. *Johannes Trithemius* (1462-1516).
His *Vita* of Agricola has two versions. The differences are not wholly negligible.
a) De script. eccles., 1494, fo. 125v-126r (Trithemius I, p. 377); Alardus II, fo. †4r-v.
b) De lumin. Germ., 1495, fo. LIIIv (Trithemius I, p. 165).
2. *Johann von Pleningen* (1454-1506).
One letter from Dietrich von Pleningen to his brother Johann, two from Johann to Dietrich followed by the 'index seu commentarii uitae' of Agricola (c. 1500).
S fo. IIr-Xv; Pfeifer, 1849, pp. 97-119.
3. *Goswinus van Halen* (c. 1468-1530).
Vita in the form of a letter to Philippus Melanchthon, probably c. 1525.
ONB, cod. 9058, fo. 3r-6v; Kan, Erasm. Gymn. Progr., 1894, pp. 5-9; Kan, Gron. Volksalm., 1898, pp. 69-83.
4. *Gerard Geldenhouwer* (1482-1542).
His 'Agricolae Vita' was written on request for:
Fichardus, 1536, fo. 83r-87r. This text was used again, with some interesting alterations in:
Adam (in the 2nd ed. 'Rudolf Agricola' on pp. 13-21). Adam's text was used also, again with some additions and changes, in:
Effigies, 1654, pp. 28-35.
5. *Philippus Melanchthon* (1497-1560).
An academic address delivered at the University of Wittenberg in July 1539 by Johann Saxo of Holstein:
Oratio de uita Rodolphi Agricola Frisii, Bretschneider, Corp. Ref. XI, 1843, col. 438-446. Bretschneider refers to the editions of the sixteenth century; the first one is that of Craton Mylius, Strasbourg, 1544.
6. *Philippus Melanchthon* (1497-1560).
A letter to Alardus of Amsterdam:
Inc. Eximia uirtute et doctrina praedito D. Alardo Aemstelredamo Philippus Melanchthon S.D.
Expl. Bene uale. Francoforti 28.die Martii. Anno M.D.XXXIX.
Alardus II, fo. †3r-†4r; Bretschneider, Corp. Ref. III, 1836, col. 673-676.

Spuria, incerta, perdita

1. *Translation of Psalms*.
Trithemius says: 'Transtulit ex Hebraico psalterium' and Geldenhouwer confirms this by writing (or rather is he repeating what he saw in Trithemius?): '... ut aliquot psalmos Dauidicos in Latinam linguam citra culpam uerterit.' Agricola may well have translated a number of Psalms as he was training himself in Hebrew. See in this connection *Ep.* 52, where Reuchlin asks Agricola about the interpretation of a Psalm text. But nothing of this has come down to us.

2. *Translation of Dionysius (pseudo-)Areopagita.*

Trithemius writes: 'Dionysii Areopagitae uolumina traducere incipiens, morte immatura praeuentus, imperfecta reliquit.' That is the only information we have about this translation. On the probability of Agricola occupying himself with Dionysius (pseudo-)Areopagita, see Vanderjagt, 'Rodolphus Agricola Groningenensis', 1985, pp. 217-218.

3. *Translation of Eucherius.*

Goswinus informs us that in a Roermond library Agricola found a Greek book by Eucherius, bishop of Lyon, which he translated into Latin. Prof. IJsewijn has explained in this volume how Goswinus came to this error. But that Agricola did find Eucherius' *De contemptu mundi* in Roermond and brought it with him as a present for the nun Wandelvaert in the Selwerd monastery, may be a true story.

4. *A prayer in verse to St. Anthony, and other poems.*

See introductory note to our list of *Carmina*

5. *Compendium or epitome of world history.*

Both *Vitae* by Melanchthon give a detailed report on this world chronicle, which was made in Heidelberg for the Prince Elector of the Pfalz. There is no doubt that it really existed; presumably it was not printed. See on this *scriptum* now Prof. Kessler in this volume.

6. *Translation of speeches by Demosthenes and Aeschines to Alexander and the senate of Athens.*

Alardus published these four short texts as translations made by Agricola (II, pp. 171-174). They are certainly spurious: see Prof. IJsewijn in this volume. Dr. E.R. Smits (Groningen) has traced them back to a supplement of the lacunous text of Quintus Curtius, written (and not translated) in the eleventh or early twelfth century. The oldest sources are two mss. of the second half of the twelfth century (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 82 and Vat. lat. 1869). The speeches have also been presented as translations made by Leonardo Bruni. See Smits.

7. *Translation of Hermogenes' Praeexercitamenta.*

Not even Alardus, who published these texts as an appendix to Agricola's Aphthonius-translations (II, pp. 77-99), thought or suggested that they were translated by Agricola. See Prof. IJsewijn in this volume.

8. *Translation of Cratis Thebani Cynici epistolae.*

A modern hoax, see Prof. IJsewijn.

9. *Oratio funebris by Johann Reuchlin.*

According to Geiger, pp. 11-12, Reuchlin held the funeral oration for his friend.

10. *Vita by Regnerus Praedinus.*

In his *Difficilium aliquot locorum in Euangeliū Lucae enarratio*, cap. VII, Praedinus says that he wrote *Vitae* of Wessel Gansfort and Agricola: Praedinus, p. 198.

As this text by Praedinus is little known and contains some interesting information on the intimate friendship between the two Groningen scholars, it is quoted here in full. After relating the death of Rudolph Agricola in Heidelberg, Praedinus continues: '... ille [Vuesselus obiit] Groningae, in patria nobis communi, in qua uteque alterum familiariter ante diu coluerat, quemadmodum iidem illi senes, de quibus supra dixi, mihi commemorare solebant; nam illa omnia utriusque intime praesentes uiderant. Quin unus tum adolescens [presumably Goswinus van Halen], saepe ad mensam inseruierat, ubi uteque accubuisset; saepe laterna praelucens domum utrumque duxerat, quin calceos Agricolae sed madido saepe detraxerat; nam Vuesselum nemo unquam uidit ebrium. Illa porro monumenta, quae apud me esse dixi, docent praeterea inter illos usum coniunctissimum fuisse. At ego & Vuesseli (ut eo redeam) et Agricolae uitam alio loco scripsi et ea quidem fide, ut mihi liceat persancte iurare ne minimum profector a me dictum esse utriusvis ornandi causa, quod pro certo non comperissem.'

PART II

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INDICES

The indices include the main text, the footnotes and Part One of the Bibliography (except the list of sources). The name of Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius and the topographical names of Ferrara and Groningen have not been listed. The footnotes have not been indexed for the names of Agricola's biographer H.E.J.M. van der Velden, the editor Alardus of Amsterdam and the editor and bibliographer P.S. Allen. Part One of the Bibliography has not been indexed for Alardus of Amsterdam, G.C. Huisman, H.E.J.M. van der Velden and the printers of the various editions of the works of Agricola.

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